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THE Nonconformist.

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TESTIMONIAL to the REV. DR. VAUGHAN.

The retirement of Dr. Vaughan from the Editorship of the *British Quarterly Review*, and from official public life, furnishes an occasion for the expression of that esteem and affection, which his high character and great services for nearly fifty years have inspired, and which all his brethren feel.

Professional and literary labours do not secure very large remuneration, and a long literary life may be spent in rendering the very highest service to the Church of Christ, without making that provision for declining years, upon which Pastors of Churches may generally calculate. We have no endowments for our literary men, nor any provision for them when the years of actual labour are ended. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us, in other ways, to endeavour to show them that their services are nevertheless highly appreciated, and that when occasion presents itself it is eagerly embraced to indicate by some generous and spontaneous offering of esteem, the admiration and gratitude that are felt for patient and self-denying labour, for consistent and faithful adherence to great principles, and for an old age of matured wisdom and fatherly service. Men like Dr. Vaughan are the glory of the Churches of Christ, and in honoring them the Churches honour themselves.

It is proposed to present to Dr. Vaughan such a Testimonial as may best express this feeling of abundant and affectionate esteem, and convince him and others that no one can serve as he has served, and complete a public life work as he has completed his, without eliciting from our Churches some expression of their gratitude.

Samuel Morley, Esq., M.P., has kindly consented to act as Treasurer of such a Fund, and the following gentlemen will form a Committee.

The kind, liberal, and prompt contributions of the friends and admirers of Dr. Vaughan are respectfully solicited. They may be sent either to the Treasurer, 18, Wood-street, London, E.C., or to any one of the following gentlemen:—

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To take advantage of a field of enterprise thus vast and to minister to requirements thus urgent, are the general objects for which the Suburban Village and General Dwellings Company (Limited), has been established.

It is now recognised alike by the philanthropist and the statesman, that dwellings for even the lower ranks of working men can only be secured in conformity with the established conditions of commercial enterprise. Experience has happily demonstrated that those conditions are perfectly practicable. Mr. Allierman Waterlow estimates his profits on "Langbourne-buildings" at 7 or 8 per cent. per annum. The "Improved Industrial Dwellings Company" has paid a dividend of 5 per

cent., after carrying considerable sums to reserve and repairs funds. It is obvious that the greater the scale on which operations of this kind are undertaken the more favourable will they be to such a return as will be likely to secure the confidence of persons who are seeking safe and fairly remunerative employment for their money. The only ground on which a company like the present can appeal to the public for pecuniary support is the sound prospect of being able to realise a good moderate profit on the capital subscribed. It has been shown that that prospect may be entertained, even in so far as building for the working classes is concerned. In further illustration of the demand for healthy homes for those classes it may be mentioned that for the 100 tenements contained in the block known as Stanley-buildings, King's-cross, there were upwards of 800 applicants, whilst the reliability of the tenants is proved by the extraordinary fact that the bad debts made by the "Improved Industrial Dwellings Company" amounted in six months to only 29s., or 1s. per cent.

The middle classes, however, are less interested in the objects of this Company than are working men themselves. On all sides of the metropolis the demand for good, well-built, pleasantly-situated, and healthily-conditioned residences is far in excess of the supply.

The Company, in carrying out the objects contemplated, propose to undertake the following among other special forms of business:—

1. The purchase of estates within reasonable distance of and having direct railway connection with London, on which, according to their extent and character, complete suburban villages may be raised, laid out in picturesque plans, with regard to harmonious designs and with due consideration to the means and requirements of various orders of people. In these "villages" two great evils will be avoided—the one the moral and social mischiefs which would be inseparable from a system of class colonisation; and the other the disagreeableness which marks that confused intermixture of incongruous orders of houses which is the bane of so many suburban districts, resulting from the subdivision of land among a number of small proprietors, who work without reference to the interests of one another, thus bringing down the value of first-class residences by the proximity to them of houses of a far inferior grade—the villa being fronted by a retail shop, and the view from the mansion being blocked out by an irregular heap of ill-conditioned cottages.

2. The purchase of plots of ground, whether within or beyond the bounds of "London proper," on which blocks of buildings may, with due attention to sanitary laws, be erected, either as homes for households, or as lodging houses for single men and women. It is proposed here also to meet the requirements at once of the middle orders of society on the one hand, and of even a lower grade than those for whom the "Improved Industrial Dwellings Company" has at present made any provision on the other.

3. The presentation of opportunities to all classes alike of becoming the purchasers of their own dwellings by various scales of payment (which have been very carefully prepared), extending in the form of rent over a greater or less number of years, at the option of the tenant. To this part of their scheme of operations the projectors attach the highest importance, knowing, as they well do, that great numbers of working men are anxiously waiting to avail themselves of the privileges which will be thus presented to them, including, among many moral and pecuniary advantages, that social status which, after all, the possession of property can alone fully ensure.

The Company will transact all business consistent with or arising out of the objects and plans thus set forth.

The refusal of several large and suitable estates has already been secured, one of which will, it is estimated, furnish material, with actual advantage to the property for building purposes, for 70,000,000 of bricks, which may either be rendered available for the use of the Company, or sold at a profit in the ordinary way of trade.

The operations of the Company are not of a hazardous character. A good substantial dividend, therefore, is within the range of legitimate expectation. Several land and building societies already in existence pay dividends ranging from 12 to 15 per cent. per annum.

Moreover, as the real property of the Company must necessarily increase with the number and extent of its transactions, a perpetually improving medium of safe investment is offered to the public.

As the social exigencies alluded to in this prospectus operate in a greater or less degree in all the large towns of England, the Company will be prepared, as favourable opportunities present themselves, to extend its operations to other great centres of industry and population.

Application for prospectuses and shares may be made to the Solicitor, Secretary, and Bankers of the Company, and the deposits paid either at the Westminster branch or the Imperial Bank, Lothbury.

The Articles of the Association may be seen at the office of the Solicitor.

THE Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT, AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

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CONTENTS:

ECCLIASTICAL AFFAIRS:	The Fenians	149
The Lords' Bridle on	The Jamaica Question.....	149
Dissent	Postscript	149
Religious Notes	LEADING ARTICLES:	
The Model Mission	Summary	150
Religious Equality in the	The Last Move of the	
New Parliament	Fenians	150
Relative Strength of the	Another Imaginary Peep	
Established Church and	into the Cabinet	151
the Free Churches of	Notes of the Session	151
Wales	The Husband at Home	152
Religious Intelligence ..	Parliamentary Sketches ..	154
Correspondence:	Foreign and Colonial	155
Ministerial Abstainers..	Court, Official, and Per-	
Freedmen and Congre-	sonal News	155
gationalists	Literature	156
The Model Congrega-	Brief Notices	157
tional Trust-deed	Books Received	158
A Princely Offer	Miscellaneous News	158
Report of the Capital	Gleanings	158
Punishment Commis-	Money Market and Com-	
sion	mercial Intelligence.....	159
Parliamentary Proceed-	Births, Marriages, and	
ings	Deaths	159

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

THE LORDS' BRIDLE ON DISSENT.

"SUFFER those who are attached to the Church," said Lord Chelmsford to his brother peers, in opposing Mr. Hadfield's Qualification for Offices Repeal Bill, "to retain this bridle upon the consciences of her opponents." The law lord spoke to colleagues who well understood him. They were but few in number, it is true, but, few as they might happen to be, the Constitution, no doubt, for high political ends, invests them with the power of resisting, for an indefinite period, the decision of the people of the United Kingdom, as expressed by their representatives in the House of Commons. Five times have the peers of the realm—that is, some four or half-dozen men who, on this and many other questions, act for the majority of the ennobled who care not to act on their own judgment in availing themselves of their high privileges—rejected the Bill sent up to them by the Lower House, and rejected it, we regret to add, on manifestly insufficient and even offensive grounds. We thought Lord Chelmsford's insult would have roused the indignation of the several bodies in whose faces it was gratuitously hurled. Perhaps, we were unreasonable in our expectation. Some insults from some persons it would argue a want of self-respect to resent, and, it may be, the Dissenting bodies, like the man who would not deign to fight with a chimney-sweep, felt that it would be degrading to notice Lord Chelmsford's abuse. We cannot say they were wrong—for men who have something better to do, seldom retire from the business in which they may chance to be engaged, merely to hunt down and crack every triple-mailed insect whose bite may annoy them. But his lordship and his lordly friends, we believe, take a somewhat different view of the matter, and amuse themselves with the idea that the Dissenters exhibit the patience of the animal for the restraint and governance of which bridles were designed. We hope to find proof, next week, that they who appreciated their own dignity too highly to enter into conflict with Lord Chelmsford, took as much care at the late General Election, to assert their proper political position, as the Roman Catholics did whom Earl Derby talked of the danger of "unmuzzling."

Mr. Hadfield's Bill, to the objects of which we shall presently advert, will come on for second reading in the House of Commons on WEDNESDAY NEXT. It will be the occasion of the first division of that House this session on a politico-ecclesiastical subject—the first test of the light in which the new Parliament is disposed to regard the principle of religious equality. The hon. member for Sheffield makes the smallest possible demand upon the Liberal sentiment of the Legislature. The concession asked for relates to what even those who have hitherto refused it regard as unnecessary and worthless. Still, when men begin to do justice, on the ground that it is justice, they may reasonably

enough suspect that they place all remaining items of injustice at a disadvantage. "*Obsta principis*" is, we believe, the maxim upon which ecclesiastical exclusiveness has resolved to take its stand in the opening of the campaign. Our readers, therefore, will not be surprised to hear that Mr. Hadfield's Bill is to be contested in the Commons with a severity which, regard being had to its object only, it does not deserve. The Church Institute, we understand, is whipping, and whipping hard, to bring up a majority against the Bill on Wednesday next. Although next to nothing is at stake, it is regarded as of the highest importance that the ecclesiastical Tories should make a striking demonstration of their Parliamentary strength. Their resolution indicates considerable tactical astuteness. The Bill to be opposed is so limited in its scope, and is supposed to be so secure of a majority in the House of Commons, that not a few Liberal members may take it for granted that any little self-sacrifice they may be put to in recording their votes in its favour, would be supererogatory. It is for this cause, and for no other, that anything short of a decisive division is to be anticipated. We think it would be kindness on the part of Liberal constituencies to put their members on the *qui vive*. Many of them are probably unaware of the circumstances which threaten the progress of the measure, and, in such cases, we are convinced, a quiet hint from their friends would be well received. If we allow the obstructives to "do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?"

And now, one word as to what the Bill proposes to do. When the Sacramental Test was abolished in 1828, the following declaration was imposed in lieu of it:—"I do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, upon the true faith of a Christian, that I will never exercise any power, authority, or influence which I may possess, by virtue of the office of . . . to injure or weaken the Protestant Church as it is by law established in England, or to disturb the said Church, or the bishops and clergy of the said Church, in the possession of any rights or privileges to which such Church, or the said bishops or clergy, are or may be by law entitled." Now, every person appointed to the office of mayor, alderman, common councilman, borough magistrate, or to any place of trust or employment relating to the government of any city, corporation, borough, or cinque-port, must make and subscribe the above declaration within one calendar month next before or upon his admission to office. But if the office be one to which, not the municipality, but the Crown, appoints, then, in default of the person appointed to it making and subscribing the declarations within six calendar months after his admission to such office, employment, or place of trust, the appointment becomes void. So much as to the main distinction between the two classes of public servants, namely, those who hold place under a municipal body, and those who hold it from the State. The first class which have to deal exclusively with local affairs, and have no opportunity of inflicting injury upon the Church, find the declaration placed on the threshold of their office. The second class, which include Cabinet Ministers and all the high functionaries of State, who can, if they will, work irreparable damage in the Church, may enter their office unpledged, and retain it for six months. And, for the most part, they actually do so. The legislature is properly tender of the liberty of such persons, and, accordingly, passes an Act every year to relieve those who have failed to make the declaration of the consequence of their neglect, so that, in point of fact, many State officers never make it at all.

But there are further absurdities inseparable from this law. As the statute "extends to all the officers and servants employed by municipal corporations, policemen, lamplighters, beadles, firemen, and even scavengers are liable to be called upon 'solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God,' to declare upon the true faith

of a Christian' that they will not exercise the authority they possess in virtue of their office to injure the Established Church, or to disturb its bishops and clergy in the possession of their rights and privileges! It is, however, found to be practically impossible to enforce the law as regards the numerous body of persons employed by municipal corporations, it having been ascertained that out of 5,893 individuals in the service of the corporations of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, and Sheffield, only 511 have taken the Declaration; while the remaining 5,382 persons are not protected by the yearly Indemnity Act. Thus, as the result of a systematic disregard of the law, at which the Legislature has connived, the great majority of those who should make the Declaration have practically obtained relief from the Test, which is operative as regards only the higher members of municipal corporations. In addition to these anomalies, neither the Established Church in Ireland, nor that of Scotland, is protected by the declaration."

We have said enough. Nothing would be easier than to hold up to deserved ridicule the anomalies of the statute, the offensive portion of which Mr. Hadfield seeks by his Bill to repeal. A provision of law, obedience to which is the exception, and infraction the rule, cannot, of course, be of the least value for its own sake, and can only be maintained for some other purpose. This declaration is, according to Lord Derby, the homage exacted from Dissenters "to the pre-eminence of the Church." It is a confession of inferiority in regard to the position of Non-conformists before the law. It is retained as a bridle on their consciences. It must be swept away by a decisive majority on Wednesday. "He that is not for us is against us."

ECCLIASTICAL NOTES.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE has come forward to lead the forlorn cause of Church-rate compromise. He has given notice that on the second reading of the Church-rate Abolition Bill, he will move as an amendment, a resolution for the exemption of conscientious Dissenters from the rate. The question, therefore, will once more go into the old groove, and, we suppose, the old arguments be made to do service again by new men.

Mr. Hope must be a man of extremely sanguine temperament. How many Bills for the exemption of Dissenters have been brought into the Legislature, and there met an untimely fate! There have been the Bills of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Marlborough in the House of Lords; of Mr. Walpole (backed by Mr. Disraeli), and the whole force of Lord Derby's Government, in the House of Commons, in 1859. In 1861, three measures having the same object were introduced. Mr. Cross proposed to relieve all who objected to pay, whether "conscientiously" or not; Mr. Estcourt did the same; and Mr. Hubbard, who will not listen to a Conscience Clause in Education, was willing to put one into his Church-rate Bill. Here are six proposals, five of which were withdrawn without going to a division, and the sixth was beaten, notwithstanding Government support and advocacy, by an overwhelming majority. Compromise of this question by the exemption of Dissenters—whether "conscientious" or not—is hardly likely to make much better way in Earl Russell's than it did in Lord Derby's and Lord Palmerston's Parliaments. Mr. Hope is not likely to succeed where Mr. Walpole and Mr. Estcourt failed. His amendment will, however, help to ensure a vigorous debate, and to call up large numbers to vote. It will detach, probably, half-a-dozen persons, whose names we know already, from the Liberal ranks; and it will show that there is no unanimity of opinion or purpose in the ranks of the Opposition. It will afford a last proof

that compromise on this question is impossible. We have, therefore, no reason to be dissatisfied with, or to be alarmed at, Mr. Hope's tactics; unwillingly, but most effectively, he will only serve our own purposes. The Division of the 7th March will, we trust, teach one lesson to members:—

All hope abandon, ye who enter here.

We noticed in our intelligence columns a week or two since that a discussion had taken place in the Society of Arts on University Tests. It will be remembered that it was initiated by the Hon. G. Brodrick, who read a paper on the subject, of which a brief summary appeared in our columns. We are very glad to find that Mr. Brodrick has since reprinted this paper. As a brief historical and argumentative statement of the question, Mr. Brodrick's is the best that has yet appeared. We are glad to find the author dealing at greater length than has been usual with speakers and writers on this subject, with the operation of the present system. Meeting, for instance, the objection entertained by those who acknowledge the educational claims of Dissenters, and the right of Parliament to deal with the constitution and endowment of the universities, but who allege that, notwithstanding this, it is for the public interest to maintain in its integrity their peculiar connexion with the National Church, Mr. Brodrick says:—

The question is whether any just rights of the Church of England, or the interests of religion, are endangered by offering the full benefit of education at Oxford and Cambridge, without any vexatious or humiliating reserve, to all who may choose to avail themselves of it. The answer is self-evident. The Church has no more right, as we have seen, to a monopoly of the Universities, than she has to a monopoly of Parliament. Her great superiority in wealth and learning will secure to her, so long as it lasts, a legitimate ascendancy in both, and her best friends will ask no more. No one acquainted with Oxford or Cambridge society can seriously believe that young men frequenting the same professors' lectures, but not even residing in the same College, would devote themselves to proselytising each other. Such a danger, however, were it real, must inevitably redound to the advantage of the Church, which for many years to come must be far more than a match for Dissent in an arena long occupied by herself, and possesses an exclusive command of the faculty of theology, and the University pulpit. But the danger is wholly unreal, and there is really something absurd in an University which puts the works of Grote and Mill into the hands of young Churchmen, trembling at the prospect of their coming into contact with the followers of Wesley or Robert Hall. It is far more likely that an infusion of Dissenting undergraduates would tend to subordinate theological disputes to the great work of education. It is precisely because Oxford is so thoroughly clerical, that questions which belong especially to the province of divines have there become topics of general discussion, propagating the *odium theologicum* among future lawyers, scholars, and men of science, and clouding with the darkness of scepticism the minds of youths still fresh from school. Most true it is, as Mr. Goschen pointed out in his masterly speech on the Oxford Tests Bill, that free inquiry and the pursuit of truth are no less the functions of an University than mere instruction. That inquiry, however, should at least be spontaneous. It is most profitably carried on by mature intellects, and especially by those who, filling professorial chairs, are entrusted with the duty of guiding the progress of thought in the various branches of knowledge which they represent. It is the same predominance of the clerical element, acting at once in two opposite directions, which dwarfs the learning of our professors, and stimulates into morbid activity the speculative tendencies of our students.

With the same calmness and clearness Mr. Brodrick deals with objections to the admission of Dissenters to the colleges, and with the notion that Dissenters will want to substitute their own form of worship for that at present in use. Mr. Brodrick believes that comparatively few Dissenters will at once take advantage of the University system. But should the contrary be the case,—

Should they (he says) hereafter become more numerous and influential than we can at present venture to anticipate, it will be a proof—not that they ought never to have been admitted, but rather that a larger class than we now suppose has been hitherto excluded by tests from all that is implied in University education; an education, with all its faults, the highest in this country, and capable of a development to which no limit can be assigned. For our Universities, let us remember, have a mission of their own, and it is a mission as sacred and as responsible as any that can be confided by society to an independent body. To form directly the mental habits of the governing class, to regulate indirectly the educational standard throughout England, to preside with authority over the advancement of learning, to assign their relative value to different sciences, exalting some to honour and consigning others to neglect, to correct by a sound philosophy the intellectual vices of an utilitarian age, to bear an undying witness to the supreme value of truth—these are amongst the higher functions which legitimately belong to our Universities, yet cannot be perfectly discharged till the last vestige of ecclesiastical monopoly had disappeared from their constitution.

These are eloquent words, and we are glad to have them from such lips.

Mr. Brodrick, it will be seen, does not favour the predominance of the clerical element in the Universities. We have now to add a fresh illustration of clerical character and clerical sympathies. It will be remembered that on the occasion of the South Lan-

cashire election, it was positively affirmed that Mr. Gladstone owed his seat to the votes of no fewer than 400 clergymen, who polled for him in preference to his Tory antagonist. The statement seemed to be rather incredible; but there it was, and nobody could contradict it. Mr. Hugh Mason, of Ashton-under-Lyne, in a letter to the *Star* of yesterday, has done the public the service of exposing this fallacy. He has made a careful analysis of the polling-books, with the following results:—In the hundred of Salford, seventeen clergymen voted for Mr. Gladstone, and one hundred and eighteen for Mr. Egerton (Tory). In the hundred of West Derby, where Mr. Gladstone was born, twelve clergymen voted for him, and seventy-eight for Mr. Egerton (Tory). Total in the whole division: Gladstone, 29; Egerton (Tory), 196. "The figures," says Mr. Mason, "which I now make public, will at least disabuse the minds of your readers of the idea that the Chancellor is indebted to the Episcopalian clergymen for his election, and will go to prove, what is very well known in South Lancashire, that his bitterest foes are to be found among that class of people."

The *Times* of yesterday contained a curious article on Lifeboats. On Thursday evening last a question was asked in the House of Lords whether it was the intention of the Government to propose a subsidy to the Lifeboat Institution, or to take the management of it into its own hands. In the short debate which followed everybody seemed to agree that the State would do more harm than good by interfering in this matter. The *Times* reiterates this argument. It asserts from the history of the Institution that the liberality of the public knows no bounds; that the funds contributed are quite extraordinary; that volunteers are always ready to do service; and that it is therefore impossible to make out a case for Government interference. Nothing, in fact, says the *Times*, "that Government could do would equal what is done by the Lifeboat Institution already. If money is wanted, the Institution tells us that it has only to appeal to the public and the funds pour in. If men are wanted, that is a want which neither the Institution nor Government itself could at once supply. At present all classes co-operate with the Institution to the utmost of their power. Show the Institution a dangerous coast, a competent crew, and a local committee, and they will plant and maintain as many stations as can be desired. All this comes of private benevolence, energy, and zeal." We termed this a "curious" article, and is it not so? The very people who thus cry down government interference with a Lifeboat Institution are the same who cry up interference in the Church. The people can be trusted to save bodies, but the State alone can save souls. The benevolent is, in their opinion, superior in power to the religious and spiritual feeling. Not a groat to the lifeboatsmen—they will be sure to come forward and be supported; but a tithe down to anise and cummin for the cleric!

'Tis a strange world, my masters!

THE MODEL MISSION.

NO. III.

It must not be supposed, because the necessity for prayer and the method of conducting devotional meetings are not fully discussed in these papers, that therefore the conductors of the Model Mission deem them matters of secondary importance. I can answer for their being fully alive to their claim to attention; but it is taken for granted that all who are interested in mission work for gathering in the wanderer and the outcast are also sensitively alive to the power of prayer, and therefore need no elaboration of this subject.

The Model Mission pays particular attention to the proclamation of the Gospel in the highways and byways. Its best men are selected for this work—men able to give a kindly reply to a pertinent inquiry upon the subject under discussion, but just as apt to answer a fool according to his folly when the occasion demands. Let me instance a case or two in point. One night, while standing near an open-air preacher of the stamp alluded to, a man, with a knowing grimace, rudely inquired, "Who was Job's father?" The preacher good-humouredly told him it was not the best of manners to stop a man while speaking to a crowd of listeners, but he would attend to his question when he had concluded the subject on which he was speaking. Having finished his address, the speaker said to the inquirer, "Well, friend, and what is your question?" "Why," said the man, "I want to know who Job's father was?" "I'm sorry," said the preacher, "but I really can't tell you." "Why not?" said the querist. "Because," said the speaker, "the Bible don't tell me." "Well," said the man, "that's a pretty go, that is: you're standing up there to preach out of a Bible that don't tell you who Job's father was." "But," objected the preacher, "if there had been any occasion for mentioning Job's father in the Book, you may be sure it would have been there."

"Oh," said the man, "if the Book were what it professes to be, it would have told us all about Job's father, as well as about Job himself." "Under such circumstances," said the preacher, "we ought also to have the history of Job's grandfather, great-grandfather, and so on; and instead of having a revelation from God as to how men may be saved from sin and made fit for heaven, we should only have a record of the family of Job; and I put it to the crowd as to which is the most desirable." I need not say as to how the congregation decided.

On another occasion a Roman Catholic shouted from the outside of the crowd—"Don't listen to him, he's only doing what he gets paid for!" "That's true," said the speaker, "and if you, and the likes of you, only did the same, it would sometimes be a great advantage to your employers." A roar of laughter silenced the Romanist, who remained quiet during the remainder of the service. Once a navvy with a favourite little dog under his arm stopped the preacher with the inquiry, "I say, governor, what religion's yours?" "The religion of the Book," said the speaker. "But which of 'em," said the navvy, "because there's about as many on 'em as there's days in the year?" "And to which of the number do you belong?" said the preacher. "Oh! to none of 'em," said the man, "I'm a horse's religion." "To which," said the speaker, "there's two things to say, in the first place you must be very hard to please; and in the next it would be well for you if you were only half as thankful and obedient to God and His laws, as the horse is obedient and thankful to his owner." Of course this was said in a kindly way, and a little quiet conversation afterwards removed at least some of the prejudices which the man had against the Gospel.

These are but instances of the interruptions that are sure to occur while a street preacher is addressing a crowd, but a ready man will soon detect whether the inquirer is really desirous of information, anxious about his soul, or merely a caviller seeking to annoy or disturb; under any circumstances, the preacher should never lose his temper, or permit it to be seen that he feels annoyed; for it must always be remembered that many of the stock objections to Christianity and the Bible, that seem trivial enough to the speaker, are really stones of stumbling to not a few who labour in workshops, where such objections pass current as really formidable.

No work is more blessed for the gathering in of outsiders than open-air preaching; but the man who claims the attention of a street auditory in a leading thoroughfare, or a crowded neighbourhood, needs to have all the bearings of his subject well in hand, and be prepared to defend his position at all points. In ministering to a stated congregation the ordeal of criticism is politely deferred in the preacher's presence. The case is far different, however, with the evangelist who carries the message to the streets and lanes of the cities. What? when? why? how? where? who? and what for? are inquiries he will have put to him in reference to his subject, and if he is wise, and would do the Master's work well, he should be ready to reply to all comers, and indeed invite questions either oral or written, and reply to them in like manner, for sometimes a letter might have weight and influence where the preacher's voice would never reach.

From what I have seen of the work of the Model Mission, I should deem it advisable to have a fixed station for open-air preaching, and that set subjects should be considered in preference to merely desultory utterances for such services; such an arrangement is good both for speaker and hearer, and gives a finish to the instruction imparted that is highly beneficial. A man feeling equal to a nightly service might devote the successive days of the week to Scripture biography, doctrinal topics, prophecy, miracles, practical godliness, &c., &c. A summer spent in such service would yield a glorious harvest. In my next I may give a few of the results of such a summer's campaign, for its practicability and power has been proved for many years.

MONITUS.

RELIGIOUS EQUALITY IN THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

A new Parliament having assembled, it was thought to be very desirable that the leading friends of religious liberty in the metropolis should have an opportunity of meeting their friends in the House of Commons for mutual conference on the Ecclesiastical Questions which are likely to engage attention during the present session. For that purpose the Executive Committee of the Liberation Society and the Committee of the Protestant Dissenting Deputies agreed jointly to invite a number of gentlemen to break fast at the Charing Cross Hotel, on Thursday morning last. Above seventy gentlemen responded to their invitation, and the meeting was of an unusually influential kind. Among those who were present, and who included members of various religious denominations, were:—

Sir Morton Peto, Bart., M.P.; Mr. Baines, M.P.; Mr. Gilpin, M.P.; Mr. Hardcastle, M.P.; Mr. Hadfield, M.P.; Mr. J. R. Mills, M.P.; Mr. McLaren, M.P.; Mr. Miall, Rev. Henry Allon, Rev. W. Brock, Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, Mr. William Edwards, Mr. Samuel Courtald, Rev. Newman Hall, Rev. Dr.

King, Mr. Charles Reed, Rev. Dr. Burns, Rev. J. Stoughton, Mr. James Heywood, Mr. Carvell Williams, Mr. C. Shephard, Mr. Turberville, Rev. W. Landels, Rev. R. Ashton, Rev. J. Kennedy, Rev. J. H. Gamble, Rev. W. Reed, Rev. T. Penrose, Dr. Underhill, Rev. J. G. Rogers, Mr. Jas. Bell, Mr. Stafford Allen, Mr. H. O. Wills, of Bristol, Rev. F. Trestrail, and Rev. A. Hannay. Several members of Parliament and other influential gentlemen were unable to attend from indisposition or from other engagements.

After a substantial and admirably served breakfast, Sir MORTON Peto, Bart., M.P., who presided, introduced the business by referring to the various topics which it was proposed to consider. As it was stated that the proceedings were to be considered confidential, we are unable to do more than indicate their character and drift.

Mr. HARDCASTLE, M.P., introduced the Church-rate question, in respect to which it was agreed that the utmost effort should be put forth to secure a good majority on the 7th of March. It was also thought that while petitions and resolutions on the subject from public bodies might be serviceable, it was not needful to have recourse to general petitioning. Mr. HADFIELD, M.P., adverted to the position of the Qualification for Offices Bill, the second reading of which would, he hoped, be triumphantly carried on Wednesday next, so that the bill might a seventh time go up to the Lords.

An interesting discussion took place on the subject of University Tests, Mr. MIALl describing the character of Mr. COLERIDGE's Oxford University Tests Bill, the second reading of which is fixed for Wednesday, the 21st of March, and Mr. BOMPAS—who is himself excluded from a Fellowship by the existing test—stating some important facts relative to the exclusion from University honours and emoluments of several wranglers at Cambridge, and of other university men at Oxford. This latter question is dealt with by the Bill just brought in by Mr. Bouverie, whom it was resolved heartily to support.

A paper, read by Mr. TURBERVILLE, dealt with a group of Irish questions—the Roman Catholic Oath, the Irish Church, and the Education question. Satisfaction was expressed at the Government Bill dealing with the Oath question, and there was entire unanimity in regard to Sir John Gray's motion respecting the Establishment. The Education question elicited the only difference of opinion which presented itself during the meeting; the exact length to which concessions desired by Roman Catholics should be granted being the subject-matter of debate. The discussion was of a very useful kind, and calculated materially to assist those who may presently be called upon to deal with the subject.

The ecclesiastical affairs of Jamaica were also touched upon, and it was agreed that efforts should be put forth in this country to put an end to the ecclesiastical grants now voted in the colony.

The proceedings were brought to a close shortly before noon by a vote of thanks—moved by the Treasurer of the Liberation Society, and seconded by the Deputy-Chairman of the Deputies—to Sir S. M. Peto, for presiding, and to Mr. [Jas.] Heywood, who occupied the chair when Sir Morton was obliged to leave. The opinion was expressed that a great service had been done to the cause of religious equality by the convening of such a meeting, and that it had served to impart a considerable amount of valuable information, which would kindle enthusiasm, and give it a right direction, in connexion with the struggles in which the voluntary party will be engaged during the present Session.

LIBERATION SOCIETY LECTURES.—The delivery of the lectures which were announced a short time since as being in preparation, has now commenced. This week the Rev. J. G. Rogers, of Clapham, lectures at Ipswich and Colchester, on "The Religious Objections to the Union of Church and State," and he is to be followed by the Rev. G. Gould, of Norwich, on "Reasons why Churchmen should seek the Dissolution of the Union." The Rev. N. Haycroft and the Rev. C. Short are to lecture at Newport, Swansea, and Cardiff, as many as eight lectures being arranged for at the last-named place. At Newcastle-on-Tyne a course has commenced, the lecturers being the Rev. W. Walters, Rev. Marmaduke Miller, and the Rev. J. C. Geikie. Manchester will have four lectures on successive Tuesdays, commencing the 27th inst.; the lecturers will be the Rev. G. W. Conder, Rev. T. Davies, Rev. M. Miller, and the Rev. Charles Williams. At Ashton-under-Lyne the Rev. Enoch Mellor commences the course. Bristol will have three lectures, commencing next month. In other places lectures are in course of being arranged for.

RELATIVE STRENGTH OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH AND THE FREE CHURCHES OF WALES.

In the third of his very serviceable letters to the *Morning Star*, the Rev. Henry Richard makes good his allegation that the Welsh may, in general terms, be described as a nation of Nonconformists. He shows that the Census Returns of 1851 established that there were 1,188 Churches and 2,826 Dissenting places of worship; that the Church sittings were 301,897, or 30 per cent; the Nonconformist sittings 692,339, or 70 per cent, and that the worshipping population on the Census Sunday was divided as follows:—

Churchmen	...	134,940, or 21 per cent.
Nonconformists	...	490,543, or 75 per cent.

Mr. Richard contends that the above statement very considerably understates the comparative numerical superiority of the Dissenters.

At that time, for reasons which I shall hereafter explain, a large number of the children of Dissenters attended Church schools on week days. All of these, together with many of the domestics and dependents of the gentry who were Dissenters, were compelled to attend the Church occasionally. This was particularly the case on the Census Sunday, when, as is well known, special efforts were made to muster a larger attendance than usual. In the opinion of a gentleman than whom few men are better acquainted with Wales that would have made a difference of nearly twenty-five per cent. to the Dissenting returns. "The proportion of Dissenters to Churchmen throughout the Principality," says the same authority, "may be put down as one to eight; but in many of the rural and manufacturing districts the preponderance of Dissenters is much greater."

Though there are no authoritative statistics on the subject, there is every reason to believe that the relative proportion of Churchmen and Dissenters at the present time is not to the disadvantage of the latter. But Mr. Richard, though unable to say anything about the churches, shows that since 1851 281 new chapels have been opened in the Principality.

At the present time the number of Nonconformist places of worship in Wales, including Monmouthshire, is as follows. The figures in the first three lines are cited from the "Year-Books" of the respective denominations to which they relate, where every chapel is specified by name. For the statistics of the different Wesleyan bodies I am indebted to a very able paper on the state of Wales, published two or three years ago in a volume of "Essays and Lectures" by the Rev. John Thomas, of Liverpool:—

Calvinistic Methodists	...	975
Independents	...	839
Baptists	...	582
Wesleyan Methodists (Old Body)	...	510
Primitive Wesleyan Methodists	...	100
Minor Wesleyan Bodies	...	45
Unitarians	...	30
Society of Friends	...	7
Roman Catholics	...	12

Total..... 3,107

To which must be added that the Welsh have at this time 120 chapels in England, for so great is their attachment to their ancient language, and so deep their solicitude for the religious instruction of themselves and their children, that as soon as any considerable number of them settle in any town or district, their first care is to erect a place for worship and religious instruction in their native tongue.

It would be easy, were it necessary, to add much confirmatory evidence of an incidental kind as to the enormous preponderance of Nonconformists over Churchmen in Wales. The reports presented by the inspectors of schools to the Committee of Council on Education abound with such evidence. Thus Mr. J. Bowstead, inspector of British schools, says in his report for 1855. After stating that the proportion of Churchmen among the trading and working classes in South Wales certainly does not exceed one to every five, he adds,—

"Even this proportion, however near the truth as an average for the whole district, is much too high for many populous localities. I have myself incidentally become acquainted with the result of a minute investigation, made in one of the valleys in Monmouthshire, from which it appeared that while the Church claimed twenty families within a given area, the Protestant Dissenters claimed 300."

Still more striking is the testimony of the Rev. H. Longueville Jones, inspector of Church of England schools in Wales. Speaking of the difficulty he had in examining the children in national schools on religious subjects, he says:—

"The number of children in Welsh schools, whose parents belong to the Church, is so very small, that it requires great experience and delicacy of feeling to treat their young minds as they should be."

He gives the statistics of one school in the neighbourhood of Merthyr, which, as it is the only example he cites, he wishes, I presume, to be regarded as an illustration of his meaning. In this school, out of 107 children, only five were of parents belonging to the Church. And when he brings forward the same school in the following year, the table shows the number of children at 144, of whom two only were of Church-going parents. Further to illustrate the progress of Nonconformity in Wales, I subjoin the following short tabular statement, showing the number of congregations at five different periods:—

1742.	1775.	1816.	1861.	1866.
110.	171.	993	2,927	3,107

Now these facts are of very pregnant significance in their bearing upon one of the most important controversies of our day—namely, the comparative efficiency of an endowed and voluntary Christianity. It cannot be denied that the experiment has been made in Wales under circumstances which give it all the force of an *experimentum crucis*. The people for the most part were poor and scattered. They had to contend with the dead weight, or rather, indeed, with the active and in many instances virulent hostility, of a well-dowered Established Church. From those who might be regarded as their natural leaders, the local gentry, they have had

little help and much hindrance. Owing to distance of place and difference of language, they were until quite recently shut out to a large extent from the knowledge and sympathy of their wealthier Nonconformist brethren in England and Scotland. And yet in the face of all this behold the result!

QUALIFICATION FOR OFFICES BILL.—The first House of Commons Bill printed in this Parliament was the bill of Mr. Hadfield, and is the same as that which he carried through the House last session (and on five previous occasions), but which was rejected by the Upper House. It proposes to abolish the declaration, required by law on appointment to municipal and other offices, against exercising official authority or influence to injure or weaken the Established Church. The bill stands for second reading next Wednesday.

CHURCH-RATES ABOLITION BILL.—The Bill for the Abolition of Church-rates has this year been introduced by Mr. Hardcastle, Mr. Dillwyn, and Mr. Baines. It is identically the same which has been so often before Parliament, and printed in our columns. The bill has but four clauses. The first would absolutely abolish the existing rate. The last explains the title of the proposed new act. The two other provisions would legalise the continued collection of the impost where, at the time of the passing of the act, money is due on security of such rates, until the charge is liquidated; and the recovery of a Church-rate at the time actually made. It is Mr. Beresford Hope's intention, on the second reading of the bill (which is fixed for Wednesday, March 7th), to move, "That it is desirable that provision be made by Act of Parliament for exempting persons having a conscientious objection to Church-rates from the payment of the same."

THE PARLIAMENTARY OATH.—The following is a copy of the oath proposed in the bill introduced into the House of Commons by Sir George Grey and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to be made and subscribed by members of both Houses on taking their seats in every Parliament:—"I, A. B., do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to her Majesty Queen Victoria, and will defend her to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatever which shall be made against her power, crown, or dignity. So help me God."

THE IRISH CHURCH.—The motion of Sir John Gray relative to the condition of the Church Establishment in Ireland, is fixed for Tuesday, the 13th of March.

TESTS IN OXFORD UNIVERSITY.—The University Tests (Oxford) Bill, which was introduced by Mr. Coleridge, M.P. for Exeter, and read a first time on the 13th inst., stands for second reading on the 21st of March.

UNIVERSITY FELLOWSHIPS.—Last night Mr. Bouverie obtained leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the Act of Uniformity as prevents Dissenters from obtaining fellowships in Cambridge University.

SEIZURES FOR CHURCH-RATES.—The quiet of St. Peter's, Isle of Thanet, was disturbed on Wednesday by a seizure for Church-rates at the house of the Rev. James Crofts, Baptist minister. As no place a first could be obtained for storing the goods, the constable and broker were a long time about. A loo table, a rosewood table, a mahogany Arabian bedstead (new), a swing glass, three pieces of carpet, and three chairs, of the value of 9*l.*, were taken. The next day (Thursday) a light and a heavy cart, value 10*l.*, were taken from Mr. Hagbin, farmer. From Mr. Creasy were taken a sack of haricot beans, a sack of split peas, and three loaves of sugar, trade value 7*l.* 4*s.* Two houses of labouring men, against whom were similar warrants, could not be entered by the brokers. The warrants were signed by G. J. Hunter and Thomas Blackburn, of the Margate bench.

CHURCH-RATE CASE AT BRIDGNORTH.—A few days ago Mr. Joseph L. Whatmore, Mr. Henry Evans, and Mrs. Eleanor Giles, were summoned before the magistrates in petty sessions at Bridgnorth, for non-payment of Church-rates. The churchwardens were represented by Mr. W. D. Batte; and Mr. Bennett, of London, appeared for the defendants. Mr. Whatmore's case was taken first. After evidence had been taken, Mr. Bennett objected to the validity of the rate on two distinct grounds. 1st, that the item of 1*l.*, charged in the estimate as interest on Guest's loan of 20*l.*, was illegal, as being clearly a retrospective payment; and 2nd, that the increase of the sexton's salary from 11*l.* 16*s.* to 15*l.* was also illegal, it being for payment for additional duty at the cemetery, which had nothing whatever to do with the Church-rate, the cemetery being established under another board of management, made under the provisions of the Burials Act, 16 and 17 Victoria, cap. 134. The magistrates, after consultation, decided the objections to the rate raised by Mr. Bennett removed the case out of their jurisdiction, and that consequently the summons must be dismissed. Also, taking it for granted that similar objections would be raised on behalf of the other defendants, they presumed the summonses against them would be withdrawn, a course which the churchwardens agreed to.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON is inquiring into the character of certain processions—alleged to be semi-Popish—recently enacted with much ceremony at the church of St. Paul, Lorrimer-square, Walworth.—*South London Chronicle*.

SOUTH-PLACE CHAPEL, FINSBURY.—We are authorised to state that this chapel has not been sold to a railway company, as was stated in our last, and is not likely to be sold. Our informant, on whose authority the paragraph was inserted, was entirely mistaken in his intelligence.—*Inquirer*.

BROTHER IGNATIUS.—Brother Ignatius is not likely to return to England for some months. He intends to first visit Rome, and then, if his health permits him to do so, he will pass on to the Holy Land and Jerusalem. The monks remaining in the monastery continue extremely quiet, and now that the master spirit has gone their proceedings excite very little attention.

DR. WILBERFORCE ON RITUALISM.—The Bishop of Oxford, writing to the Rev. W. R. Fremantle, says he deprecates the introduction of ultra-ritualistic practices into the churches, but that the subject is one full of difficulty. "It would be unjust to enforce by strict law the lowering of too florid a ritual, which the congregation desired, while the law is not equally enforced where it is too low. There is, and there must be, a large latitude allowed in such matters. The attempt to enforce an absolute and uniform obedience would only be the signal for rebellion."

THE ELECTION OF MR. GLADSTONE FOR SOUTH LANCASHIRE.—It having been currently reported that the Chancellor of the Exchequer owed his seat at the late election to the active exertions of the great body of Episcopal clergymen, and to the recorded votes in his behalf of 400 of their number, Mr. Hugh Mason, of Ashton, shows in a letter to the *Star* that, from an analysis of the poll-book, it appears that while 196 clergymen in the whole division voted for Mr. Egerton, the Tory, only 29 gave their support to Mr. Gladstone. This fact, says Mr. Mason, will go to prove, what is very well known in South Lancashire, that his bitterest foes are to be found among the clergy.

BISHOP COLENSO.—The *John Bull* states that in the Supreme Court of Natal Mr. Shepstone, on behalf of the bishop, has complained of the obstacles thrown in his way by the dean in not allowing the bells of the cathedral to be rung, closing the harmonium, &c., and prays for the bishop the right to do, or cause to be done in and about the cathedral in the performance of Divine service therein, all such acts as were performed by the persons acting in trusts as the respondent before the departure of the bishop. The court, on the 7th of December, after reciting the application, made an order in compliance with the bishop's prayer.

REVISION OF THE LITURGY.—Lord Russell has returned the following answer to Lord Ebury upon the subject of the Revision of the Liturgy:—
Downing-street, Feb. 12.

My dear Lord Ebury,—After consulting my colleagues, and communicating with the Archbishop of Canterbury, I have to state to you the decision of Her Majesty's Government not to propose the issuing of a Commission for the Revision of the Liturgy. The former Commission upon the terms of subscription arrived at a conclusion which gave greater freedom of opinion to every person in holy orders; but a Commission for the revision of the Liturgy would in all probability lead to heated discussions, and its reports, if it framed any, would be sure to offend and irritate a large party in the Church. As Her Majesty's Government are most anxious to promote peace and goodwill, and not to open the way to discord, they must decline to adopt the proposal which your lordship and the deputation which accompanied you have made. Thanking your lordship for the manner and courtesy of your communication,

I remain, &c.
RUSSELL.

BISHOP COLENSO AND THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.—The Bishop of Natal has addressed a long and temperately worded letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, complaining of the way in which he had been treated. "I cannot forget the fact," says Bishop Colenso, "that Bishop Gray's course of proceeding has been publicly endorsed with your grace's full approval; though I do not suppose that your grace is aware that part of that proceeding was 'to advise by letter the clergyman at Durban to commit a brawl in the church by reading the Communion Service while the Bishop preached,' and another 'to tell one of the churchwardens at Durban, when informed that steps might be taken by the laity to prevent the reading during Divine service of the illegal document deposing Bishop Colenso, that if all the devils in hell were to appear next day nothing should prevent his having the document read.'" Further, Dr. Colenso complains that the Bishop of Capetown set in judgment upon him without allowing him any right of appeal whatever, and that he has never been heard in his own defence. Another portion of the letter refers to the Archbishop of Canterbury having written to the Dean of Maritzburg, "I do not see how you can accept Dr. Colenso as your bishop without identifying yourselves with his errors." To this latter charge his grace replies:—"I have no hesitation in avowing that, according to my belief, you have been duly and canonically deposed from your spiritual office, according to the Common Law of the Church of Christ, as set forth in the concluding paragraph of the 26th Article of the Church of England; and I must decline to hold myself responsible to you for entertaining such a belief. I have never obtruded this opinion upon others, in my capacity as Primate of the United Church of England and Ireland; but I have not hesitated to avow my private opinion when it has been sought for." With reference to the

first complaint the Archbishop says:—"I am not aware that I have ever endorsed with my approval every act of Bishop Gray's connected with your deposition, up to the time at which you wrote, as you seem to assert."

EDUCATION IN IRELAND.—The Lord-Lieutenant received on Tuesday afternoon last week a deputation from the Irish General Assembly, appointed at its late special meeting, on the subject of collegiate and university education in Ireland. The Moderator read to Lord Wodehouse the resolutions, which condemn every departure from the mixed towards the denominational principle, and asked the Lord-Lieutenant to "use his powerful influence with the Government in protection of the united system of education." Lord Wodehouse replied to the resolutions one by one. The Government did not think it necessary to make any fresh statement with respect to their adherence to the existing scheme of primary education. With regard to the Queen's Colleges, their opinion was the same as had been expressed in Parliament last year. The trustees of the Magee College had made an application to the Government for affiliation to the Queen's University, as it was intended to modify it, and until that application was withdrawn the Government would consider it before them. It was not the intention to do anything to destroy or impair the effect of the Queen's Colleges. An argument followed, during which Lord Wodehouse upheld the propriety of having on the reconstructed senate of the Queen's University (into which the Catholic University is to be introduced) a representation of all the creeds in proportion to their numbers and influence, and the deputation contended that the result of such an arrangement would be "ruin to the Queen's Colleges"; it was impossible (they urged) to have "two antagonistic principles in the same colleges." The question, said the spokesman for the Assembly, was whether the Government would disturb the system they themselves had founded, and which they admit to have worked well.

Religious Intelligence.

HOME MISSIONARY CONFERENCE.

On Wednesday evening a meeting was held in the Congregational Library to consider the best means of promoting the interests of the Home Missionary Society. It consisted almost entirely of deacons and other members of the Congregational churches in London, convened by a personal invitation from Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., and was numerously attended. Mr. Morley occupied the chair.

The Rev. THOMAS JAMES opened the meeting by prayer, after which the chairman intimated the reception of a number of letters from gentlemen who were unable to be present, and then called on the Rev. J. H. Wilson, the Secretary of the Home Missionary Society, to read a brief report, showing the present state and prospects of the institution.

The report traced the history of the society from its formation in 1819 to the present year, and gave a very comprehensive account of the varied operations of the society. The chief feature of interest in the report was the description which it gave of the purely evangelistic department. From this it appeared that last year the sixty evangelists visited 180,000 families, were in personal conversation with or spoke in meetings to 300,000 individuals, and brought more than 300 persons to a saving knowledge of the truth, besides distributing 160,000 tracts, selling 4,000 copies of the Bible, and reading the Scriptures to 50,000 souls. The appeal to county unions to furnish one third, and to friends in the districts to furnish another third, of the funds required for this work, had met with a liberal response. The annual charge of the sixty evangelists now in the field is 1,250*l.* to the Home Missionary Society, and 2,500*l.* to the counties, a sum which has not only been raised, but wherever this agency has been introduced, the general funds of these associations; thus in Kent the annual net income in 1860 was 80*l.*, now it is 600*l.*; in Sussex it was 250*l.*, now it is 550*l.*; in Somerset 150*l.*, now 600*l.*; in Lincoln 70*l.*, now it is 400*l.*; in Cumberland 50*l.*, now it is 300*l.*, exclusive of help furnished by the Home Missionary Society. The general income of the society was stated to be 6,000*l.* from all sources, but the committee now appealed for a permanent income of 10,000*l.*

Mr. MORLEY then addressed the meeting. He was very glad indeed to find that so many members of the London churches had responded to his invitation. He had visited with Mr. Wilson, and sometimes by himself, many of the counties in England, and while he was happy in being able to say that they had been most cordially received by the county associations, and had good reason to believe that the conferences which they had attended had led to most satisfactory results, there was yet an amount of spiritual destitution in the rural districts among the people and indifference in many of the churches which were truly appalling. The figures which his good friend the secretary had read as to the work done during the last seven years, were no doubt in themselves somewhat encouraging; but he felt that it was impossible for any Christian to travel through England and get into contact with the moral condition of the population without being led to feel that they were only yet on the threshold of the work to which they were called, in seeking, by the Divine blessing, to promote their evangelisation. Still they were making progress. The society was working well through county associations, but their balance-sheet did not now show

such large amounts received from the districts where the agents were employed as it formerly did, because they now only entered what was received as *bona-fide* subscriptions for home mission work and what was paid as the society's proportion of expenditure, and this mode of managing the financial business, as was carefully done by their financial committee, would, he felt assured, be satisfactory to its friends and supporters. (Hear, hear.) He was sorry that the churches in London did not do more than they were doing for home missions. He deeply deplored the apathy which so generally prevailed amongst them, and that there were so many of his friends who did so much for the heathen abroad and so little for the heathen at home. But he did hope and believe that the proceedings of that evening would stimulate many to increased effort, and that the result would be, not only a substantial addition to their annual income, but an increase of spiritual life, which, after all, was the true source of power. Still, they must not speak lightly of money. They could not get on without it, and, although he sometimes felt it to be an unpleasant thing to be obliged to offer assistance, as he had often occasion to do, conditionally, yet, if the condition could be made a lever to move some who might not otherwise be led to contribute, he would be always ready to use it, and, judging from his experience in the counties, he felt justified in applying it in the town. He was ready, therefore, to give 500*l.* a year for three years, provided the income were raised to 10,000*l.* (Applause.) He had written to a few friends requesting their co-operation, and had received encouraging replies. Mr. Crossley would give 100*l.* a year for three years; Mr. Jupe, 100*l.*; Mr. Coote, of Fen Stanton, 100*l.*; Mr. Joshua Wilson, 100*l.*; while other friends had promised donations, amongst whom were Mr. Remington Mills, M.P., 200*l.*; Mr. Titus Salt, 100*l.*; Mr. John Morley, 100*l.*, besides smaller sums; and he was very desirous to see a large number of annual subscribers of such amounts as every one could afford to give, a good beginning of which they would, no doubt, have that evening. (Applause.) But he would especially urge on all the brethren present, the great importance of Christians being really what they professed to be in these times, for not only was there a motive to action in the fact of spiritual destitution itself, but also in the present state of the Established Church. He would never forget what he had seen on Christmas Day at St. Matthias' Church, Stoke Newington. There, not only were the clergy arrayed in gorgeous vestments, but there was also the procession with its train, the incense, the music in character, the consecration of the elements, and everything even more Popish than he had ever seen on the Continent in the Church of Rome. He really was grieved and surprised to see so many Englishmen going forward to that communion-table, and all this in what was called the Protestant Church of England. Now, this was what was to be found in every county in England. In some counties—Dorset, for example—"crosses" to aid the peasantry in their devotions, the "Little Prayer-book," with invocations to saints and prayers to the Virgin Mary, and curates to explain them, were common; for he had been there and had seen them. Now, nothing short of direct evangelistic agency will meet these evils and overcome them; and that agency the Home Missionary Society was provided with, and, by God's blessing, would work it till it covered the land. (Applause.)

The meeting was then addressed by the Rev. R. Hamilton, of Brighton; the Rev. W. Tyler, H. G. Dobell, Esq., Comptroller-General of Her Majesty's Customs, and Chairman of the London Missionary Society; Mr. John Green, Mr. Charles Mudie, Mr. James Hayercroft, Mr. W. R. Spicer, Mr. Broomhall, and other gentlemen, who all spoke earnestly in furtherance of the objects of the meeting. Slips, with columns for donations and annual subscriptions, were sent round the room, and on being returned it was found that subscriptions to the amount of 700*l.* had been entered, and donations to the amount of 400*l.* besides the Chairman's 500*l.* The meeting altogether was a very encouraging one.

MARLBOROUGH CHAPEL, OLD KENT-ROAD, LONDON.—On Thursday evening, Feb. 15th, the annual tea-meeting of the church and congregation under the pastoral care of the Rev. W. A. Esery was held in the spacious lecture-room adjoining the chapel. The attendance was unusually large. The pastor presented reports of the various branches of Christian usefulness in which the people are engaged. Resolutions were passed, approving of funds being raised for the purpose of repairing the galleries of the chapel. Appropriate addresses were delivered by the Rev. G. Rogers on "Gratitude"; the Rev. J. Pillans on "Aspiration"; the Rev. G. McAll on "Hymnology." The Rev. D. Nimmo and Dr. B. Morris also took part in the meeting, which was of a highly encouraging nature.

SEVEN SISTERS-ROAD.—On Monday evening week the Rev. E. T. Bromfield was formally recognised as pastor of the Congregational church in the Seven Sisters-road, Holloway. The chair was occupied by Mr. Robert Sinclair, of Canonbury, and among the ministers present were the Revs. H. Allon, Dr. Raleigh, J. Corbin, J. H. Wilson, and M. Wilks. Letters expressive of the warmest sympathy with pastor and people were announced as received from the Revs. Dr. Edmond, A. Hannay, J. Viney, and other gentlemen. The Rev. J. Corbin gave a lucid exposition of Congregational principles. Mr. Loveday, one of the committee, read a statement of the circumstances leading to the formation of the church through the labours of the present minister, and was followed by Mr. Bromfield, who gave an interesting account of his early history and doctrinal views. The

meeting was then addressed by Dr. Raleigh and the other ministers present, who expressed the cordiality and confidence with which neighbouring ministers and churches welcomed Mr. Bromfield among them as a fellow-labourer in the cause of truth. The Rev. H. Allon spoke particularly upon the reciprocal duties of pastor and people, and the Rev. J. H. Wilson on the duty of the Church in the world. The congregation was very large, and appeared to take the deepest interest in the proceedings.

COLCHESTER.—The Rev. Thomas Batty has been elected to the pastorate of Stockwell Independent Chapel, Colchester. A neat marble tablet, to the memory of the late Joseph Herriek, who held the office of pastor fifty-two years, has been placed in the chapel wall, near the pulpit.

HALIFAX.—On Shrove Tuesday, the jubilee of the Sion Congregational Chapel was celebrated by the laying of the foundation-stone of a new school, which is to cost 3,000*l*. The Rev. J. Pridie, for nearly thirty years the resident minister, but now retired, gave an excellent address.

DOUGLAS, ISLE OF MAN.—The annual tea-meeting in connection with the Congregational church—the only church in this island belonging to that denomination—was held on Tuesday evening, the 13th inst. The proceeds of the meeting were devoted to three charitable institutions of Douglas which are supported by public subscription, viz., the Coal Fund, the Hospital, and the House of Industry. There was a very large and highly-respectable audience, and a most interesting meeting. The Rev. A. Thompson, B.A., pastor of the church, occupied the chair, and during the evening several ministers of the town delivered addresses, all bearing on the nature of the object of the meeting. Other gentlemen gave select readings, and the whole of the proceedings were enlivened by a most efficient choir, composed of members selected from the choirs of all the various places of worship in the town. The friends of this church are about to erect an elegant Gothic building in Douglas, and hope soon to be able better to accommodate strangers visiting the island during the summer months.

EBENEZER CHAPEL, STEELHOUSE-LANE, BIRMINGHAM.—The ordination services in connection with the settlement of the Rev. Samuel Pearson, M.A., late of New College, as pastor of this place of worship, were celebrated on Thursday, the 15th inst. The morning service was introduced with reading and prayer by the Rev. G. B. Johnson, of Edgbaston. The introductory discourse, which was a masterly exposition and defence of Congregational principles, was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Vaughan, whose son, the late lamented Alfred Vaughan, was formerly the pastor of Steelhouse-lane. The questions to the church and pastor were proposed by the Rev. R. W. Dale, M.A. Mr. Alderman Mantou, the senior deacon, responded on behalf of the church. Mr. Pearson's replies were eminently full and satisfactory. After the delivery of the ordination prayer by the Rev. Professor Barker, of Spring-hill College, a most solemn, tender, and earnest charge, founded on the words, "Stir up the gift that is in thee," was delivered to the pastor by the Rev. Dr. Halley, the services being concluded by the Rev. H. S. Toms, of Enfield. The evening service was opened by the Rev. Charles Vince, after which the Rev. Dr. Raleigh addressed one of his most characteristic sermons to the church and congregation. In the afternoon of the day dinner was provided at Stock's Hotel, of which nearly 200 friends, including above fifty ministers and many ladies, partook. Mr. Pearson presided, and was supported amongst other ministers by the Rev. Drs. Vaughan, Halley, and Raleigh. The Revs. R. W. Dale, M.A., C. Vince, Professor Barker, J. J. Brown, J. Lord, G. B. Johnson, W. L. Giles, Mr. Macfie, W. T. Callaway, W. Braden, LL.D., Bevan, B.A., A. Rowland, LL.B., J. M. Blackie, LL.B., H. S. Toms, S. S. Wilson, R. Ann, W. Slater, J. W. Bain, J. Davies, J. W. Kiddle, J. Sibree, J. B. Barnett, J. Whewell, J. S. Jukes, and T. W. Mays, M.A. The services throughout were full of interest, and the confidence and good wishes expressed towards pastor and people, augur well for the future prosperity.

ASHFORD, KENT.—NEW CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AND SCHOOL.—This beautiful place of worship was opened on Thursday, the 1st inst. The building owes its erection to the energy and untiring efforts of the minister, the Rev. A. Turner. The old structure was a plain brick edifice. The new church is altogether a vast improvement upon the old, both in size and architectural symmetry. There are few Dissenting places of worship in the county which equal it for chasteness of design and general effect. The contract has been carried out by Mr. Peters, of Ashford; and Mr. W. F. Poulton, of Reading, is the architect. The proceedings of the day commenced with a morning service, when an excellent sermon was preached by the Rev. John Stoughton, of Kensington, from the 19 chap. Luke, 41 v. The friends afterwards dined together in the New Corn Exchange, at which about 100 persons were present. The Rev. A. Turner presided, and after the assembly had shown their loyalty by singing the "National Anthem," the Chairman and some other friends made a few remarks. At the close of the meeting a considerable augmentation to the funds was announced. In the afternoon, another service took place, when the Rev. H. Allon, of Islington, preached an eloquent discourse, taking for his text the 6th chap. Matthew, 9 verse. Then followed the tea-meeting in the New Corn Exchange, when upwards of 500 persons sat down. The proceedings throughout were characterised by the best Christian feelings. The contributions to the new building reached to upwards of 180*l*. The public meeting in the evening was very largely attended, and the spa-

cious church was crowded in every part. R. J. Nisbett, Esq., Gravesend, took the chair. The meeting was addressed by the Revs. G. Jones, Tunbridge-wells; D. G. Watts, M.A., Maidstone; G. J. Adeney, Reigate; W. H. Hill, Faversham; J. C. Gallaway, M.A., London; and the Rev. A. Turner. The former chapel was built in 1821 by the then Independent Church, but in consequence of pecuniary difficulties was sold in 1824 to the late Countess of Huntingdon's trustees. The Church, however, retaining a strong preference for Congregational principles, gladly availed themselves of an opportunity of repurchasing the property when the time came for the erection of the present buildings. They have, consequently, paid back to the Countess of Huntingdon's trustees 600*l*., the original purchase money; placed the new church and school in a Congregational trust-deed, and have the prospect of a prosperous future. The whole cost of erection and repurchase of the site and old buildings rather exceeds 3,200*l*. There remains 1,200*l*. more to be raised, and an earnest appeal is made to the public to free the property from debt, that the church may have its energies free to seek the welfare of this rapidly rising and important town.

Correspondence.

MINISTERIAL ABSTAINERS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—As you have published some correspondence in your columns respecting the circular which has been addressed to Congregational ministers upon the subject of temperance, allow me to inform your readers that, of the 2,177 ministers in England and Wales whose names appear in the "Year Book," I have received, to the present time, answers from 453 who are abstainers from the use of alcoholic beverages.

I am, yours faithfully,

W. J. BARLOW.

Holford-square, Pentonville,
February 20, 1866.

FREEDMEN AND CONGREGATIONALISTS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—You will oblige by publishing the following additional sums which I have received for the freed coloured people of America.

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE SMITH.

Trinity Parsonage, Poplar, Feb. 20.

Hayton, near Liverpool, Rev. E. Giles	£4	0	0
Hawen and Bryngwrith, Rev. J. Williams	2	0	5
Mill-end-road, Rev. J. Chew	3	3	0
Saltaire, Bradford, by Mr. Glyde	10	3	10
Victoria-street, Derby, Rev. W. Crosbie, M.A., LL.B.	11	1	0
Stocksbridge, near Sheffield, Rev. W. Robertshaw	3	1	6
Sandwich, Rev. J. Hillier	2	2	6
Bournemouth, Rev. N. Henry	10	12	1
Chinnor, Tetworth, Rev. E. Green	2	7	6
Poyle, Rev. E. J. Evans, B.A.	4	0	0
Smethwick, on acct. Rev. T. W. Mays, M.A.	15	0	0
Woolwich, Rev. R. B. Isaac	3	3	0
Doncaster, Rev. E. S. Prout, M.A.	10	15	0
Kilsby, Rugby, Rev. H. Ault	0	15	0
Radstone, Bucks, a few friends, by Mr. W. Scrivener	2	0	0
Portsmouth, Rev. G. Orme, previously announced as "Grampound"	1	12	3
Per Rev. R. Ashton			
Chigwell Row, Rev. F. Neller	2	14	6
Stanford, Berks, Rev. J. Jefferies	0	10	3
Bromyard, Rev. J. P. Jones	1	2	6

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Will you allow me to acknowledge the receipt, since my last communication, of the following contributions for the American freedmen?

Yours, very truly,

DAVID THOMAS.

Bristol, Feb. 19, 1866.

Bristol, Castle-green Chapel, Rev. P. Thomson	£10	10	0
Stroud, Bedford Chapel, Rev. W. Wheeler	25	0	0
Leeds, Belgrave Chapel, Rev. R. McAll	17	5	0
Merthyr Tydvil, Soar Chapel, Rev. D. Jones	5	0	0
Malvern Link, Rev. W. Scholes	2	10	0
Crickhowell, Rev. E. Watkins	2	8	0
Narberth, Rev. Wm. Thomas	1	16	8
Chalford, Rev. E. Johns	1	7	0
Kingswood, Rev. R. Bentley	11	2	6
Portsea, Rev. W. Rose	17	5	0
Tetbury, Rev. Thomas Page	1	10	4
Manchester, Rev. John Morgan	1	14	3
Rhosymedre, Ruabon, Rev. D. Evans	0	5	0
St. Florence, Tenby, Rev. J. Griffiths, personal contribution	1	0	0
Brecon, Rev. Henry Griffiths	4	12	0
Dorchester, Rev. J. Fox	7	0	0
Bruton, Rev. E. J. Newton	2	6	0
Narberth, Rev. J. M. Jones	3	12	0

THE MODEL CONGREGATIONAL TRUST-DEED.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Reading the letter of "W." in your last week's paper, reminds me how much there may sometimes be in the name we give to an object, as well as how little at other times. Minister-expelling clause! I presume that is not the designation applied to the clause by the respected compilers of said model trust-deed. This designation has originated in the mind of one morbidly sensitive to the honour of the cloth. Let this pass: now for the clause itself. It resolves itself, I believe, into this:—that two-thirds of the members of a church shall have the power of requesting the resignation of the minister, if it appears to them desirable that such a step should be taken. Let me at the outset say, that in my opinion two-thirds is too small a proportion; I should

suggest three-fourths. Much depends upon the precise wording of such a clause. I am acquainted with a church the trust-deed of which was drawn up under the immediate sanction and superintendence of the pastor, a learned, judicious, and thoroughly independent gentleman. This trust-deed had a clause on the principle of the one in question. It provided that when three-fourths of the members of the church present at a meeting called by due notice given in the public sanctuary and specifying the object of the meeting, they should have the power of requiring the resignation of the minister. Now, will "W." kindly tell us why the church acting with such a majority should not have power to call upon the minister to resign the pastorate amongst them? Is it at all probable that such a proportion of the church would take such a step without sufficient grounds? Or if in one case out of — (I leave "W." to supply the blank), if it should happen that there were such an unreasonable church, would "W." wish to be or to remain their pastor? Sir, the rarity of such an exceptional case would only confirm the rule that churches are not as a whole capable of such proceedings. But "W." objects that the clause does not specify the causes on account of which the church shall have the power over the minister. I should be surprised if it had. For if twenty different grounds had been stated as furnishing cause for the exercise of this power, the next year circumstances might arise which could not be resolved under any of the twenty in the deed. Would "W." wish one of the grounds stated to the physical defects? Yet I know a case where a most godly, gentlemanly, poetical minister laboured under a physical defect through which a somewhat numerous congregation dwindled in a few years down to a mere handful. That good man is now in heaven, and his successor has refilled the place already. If the feelings and positions of ministers are to be considered, and I heartily say Amen to that, yet the prosperity of a whole church and congregation is also equally worthy of care. Let ministers live in the affections of their people, and they need not even fear a "minister-expelling" clause.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,
C. C.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Will you permit me to say a few words, following up what has been already said by your last week's correspondent, on that questionable model—the model trust-deed. I had been hoping that the promoters of that measure, of the ejectment clause especially, seeing the opposition they had evoked, had resolved upon letting the matter quietly go to sleep. This proves, however, to have been a mistake. Of course, in this persistency, we must recognise the "fine Roman hand" of the "irrepressible" "committee," that institution which is becoming as fast as it can, the all-dominant power in Congregationalism.

I, for one, would earnestly implore these gentlemen to stop. They seem not to know whether they are tending. Of course it may be very satisfactory to the wealthy lay "brethren" and to some of the clerical, (who believe the thing will last their time) in these committees to humble the ministerial element in the body; but sure am I, that if they have any love to the body to which they profess to belong, and its prosperity, they will hesitate. Will anybody venture to say that the prosperity of the body does not depend upon the character, the efficiency, and the status of the ministry? That is certainly not too high at present. On the contrary, from the congregations being permitted to choose to themselves—like the children of Seth, in the ante-diluvian age, wives—ministers, "of all which they choose"—numbers of unqualified and inefficient men are introduced into the ministry. Then, here in England, in Dissent as in the Church, "once a person always a person." Consequently the whole ministerial class suffers. Many are unemployed—about 300, according to a statement made sometime ago in your columns—and can by no means get employed. Then, how to get rid of the numerous inefficients who have got employment at the shortest possible notice? Hence the ejectment clause. *Hinc illa lacryma.*

At the same time, there is an outcry for a cheap ministry; and we have straightway so-called colleges and institutions who are to give the name without the reality of a college education, as hitherto understood among us. Now what can possibly be the result of this but to multiply, cheapen, and degrade the class to which ministers belong? That is to say, to multiply, cheapen, and degrade the authorised teachers of Congregationalism?

Well, Sir, some of us do not see in this the best way to reach the greatest number possible of such men as Doddridge and Watts, whom we regard as the models of an independent ministry. On the contrary, as the class becomes lower and more degraded, the men who seek admission to it will ever be feeblér and poorer in everything which goes to constitute the true minister. Of this the people, not seeing themselves to be the real cause, will ever grow more impatient, until at last very likely we shall have ministers engaged by the month. Fancy, Sir, Mr. Binney hired by the month! To this complexion, notwithstanding their less democratic condition, the American churches have already, to some extent, come. As a result, we are told there is just now in America a great rush towards Episcopalianism.

But what will it be in England—aristocratic England—by-and-bye, if the promoters of the ejectment clause have their way, and the Church were separated from the State? or, as is likely to be the case, the causes of irritation removed by Dissenters being placed even more upon an equality with Churchmen?

I am sorry if the "divine right" of Diotrephes be not enough respected in the body. I hope he will consent to moderate his "divine right," so as to be compatible with the welfare of the body. Will the Model Trust-deed Committee (I do not know who they are) be kind enough to study Thomas Carlyle on permanence of contract (see "Past and Present," and "Chartism")?

No, if you wish your denomination to prosper, elevate the status of the ministry as much as you can, in morals, in education, and in piety, by barring out to the best of your ability, those unworthy of the office; and not, but not least, by permanence of contract and relation between them and you.

I am, Sir, yours truly,

VERBUM SAP.

P.S.—I forgot to add that in order to get good ministers you ought to pay them well.—V. S.

A PRINCELY OFFER.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR.—Those of your readers who take an interest in the progress of the Pastors' Retiring Fund, will be gratified to learn that a gentleman, whose name for the present is to be unknown, has offered the munificent sum of 5,000*l.*, in four yearly payments of 1,250*l.* each, on condition that five others will give 1,000*l.* each, or that ten will give 500*l.* each, within the same period of time.

In the name of fifteen hundred pastors, in the name of nearly fifty annuitants, in the name of a large body of applicants, in the name of that Christianity whose genius is charity or love, I appeal to the friends and supporters of the fund, to enable the managers at once to accept this noble challenge.

Are there not, within the pale of our fifteen hundred Congregational churches, two ladies or gentlemen who could each give 200*l.* per annum for five years; and are there not within the same wide area six ladies or gentlemen who could each give 100*l.* per annum for five years, to ensure so princely an offering in furtherance of the most practical and beneficent scheme ever projected in connection with our ecclesiastical organisation? I feel that to state this fact is to ensure a response. There are those who will not suffer such an offer to be declined, and, waiting the intimation of their will,

I am, yours most truly,

ROBERT FERGUSON,

St. John's Wood, February 19, 1866.

REPORT OF THE CAPITAL PUNISHMENT COMMISSION.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR.—It appears, from the numerous inquiries which I receive, that many persons are desirous to have information respecting the contents of the report of the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment just issued, and also respecting its price and place of publication.

It may, therefore, be interesting to a number of your readers to be informed that the report is published by Hansard and Co., Parliamentary Paper Office, London; also at the Queen's Stationery Office, Fetter-lane, E.C., whence it may be ordered through any bookseller.

It contains the text of the commission, naming the commissioners and their duties; a carefully prepared and classified summary of the evidence, a list of the witnesses, a *verbatim* report of all the questions put and replies given in the examination of the latter; official documents and statistics from twenty European nations; similar documents from the British colonies, the United States, and other countries; the written opinions of the Judges and of various experienced persons; and a valuable mass of British statistics relating to capital punishment.

The whole occupies 720 pages, forming one volume, price three shillings and ninepence. It constitutes an authoritative record of great interest and permanent value, well deserving a place in every public and private library.

I remain, Sir, respectfully yours,

WILLIAM TALLACK,

Secretary to the Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment.

THE JAMAICA BLUE-BOOKS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR.—It is much to be desired that a goodly number of those who give attention to public affairs should procure the "papers relating to the disturbances in Jamaica"; but in all likelihood many of your readers may not be disposed to deal in that department of literature, or to "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest" some 300 pages of despatches and other correspondence. To them a collection and classification of facts and items of information may not be unacceptable.

The following arrangement comprises the entire scope of the papers, excepting those which relate chiefly to naval and military arrangements, and the differences between the Governor and General O'Connor.

I. Statements of the island authorities as to the cause, nature, and extent of the disturbances.

II. Measures adopted for the suppression of the outbreak and the punishment of offenders.

III. The legislation of the island for its future peace and improvement.

IV. The course of procedure by the Home Government.

I. a. In what terms do the "papers presented to Parliament" speak of the outbreak?

A serious outbreak among certain of the labouring population.—*M. A. von Kettelhodt*, Oct. 10, p. 10.

A serious disturbance has occurred in the neighbourhood of Morant Bay.—*Governor Eyre*, Oct. 11, pp. 11 and 12.

The term "rioters" is employed by Governor Eyre before writing his despatch of the 20th Oct., and no other term is made use of in the statement of Mr. Stephen Cooke, Clerk of the Peace, dated Oct. 17, in which the word "rioters" occurs four times.

A most serious and alarming insurrection of the negro population has taken place.—*Governor Eyre's first despatch*, Oct. 20, p. 1.

Nearly every rebel has been seized.—*G. E. Ramsay*, Oct. 22, p. 26.

b. What organisation existed amongst the negroes? How were they armed? In what numbers did they engage in the outbreak? What resistance did they offer to the authorities and troops? Over what extent of territory did the disturbances prevail? What injuries to person or property were inflicted by the negroes?

There does not appear, however, to have been any actually organised combination to act simultaneously, or if there was, it was frustrated by the rising taking place prematurely at Morant Bay.—*Governor Eyre's Despatch*, Nov. 2, p. 73.

Undoubtedly there has been and is a wide-spread feeling of disaffection, and a tendency to sedition and rebellion, but there is no organised combined action.—*Governor Eyre's Despatch*, Nov. 4, p. 79.

A man named Cameron holds midnight meetings, and drills every night from 100 to 200 of the people. . . . I cannot vouch for its accuracy." *Dr. Adolphus to the Custos of Westmoreland*, Oct. 19, p. 108.

A number of over 150 men, armed with sticks, came on Saturday, the 7th of October, with the openly-expressed intention to rescue a man who was that day to be tried for some offence.—*M. A. von Kettelhodt*, Oct. 10, p. 10.

On the following Wednesday, there was a meeting of the vestry at Morant Bay, at which his Honour the Custos and several magistrates were present. About three o'clock in the evening, and while the vestry was sitting, a band of music was heard, and shortly after, from about 400 to 500 men appeared,

armed with sticks, cutlasses, spears, guns, and other deadly weapons.—*Stephen Cooke*, Oct. 17, p. 19.

It is difficult to arrive at any correct estimate of the number of people engaged in the rebellion. Different persons have reported seeing from several hundreds to as many thousands at a time; and Colonel Hobbs reports, on the 19th inst., that there were still thousands of rebels around him.—*Governor Eyre's Despatch*, Oct. 20, p. 9.

No stand has ever been made against the troops.—*Governor Eyre's Despatch*, Oct. 20, p. 9.

With reference to the extent of territory over which the disturbances prevailed, the "papers" give a very confused account. The Governor in many instances expresses his "fears," "apprehensions," &c., respecting all the parishes in the island, but Morant Bay, in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, appears to be the only place where the negroes committed any attack upon the authorities, and the only place where murder ensued. Some other places are mentioned, but not at any considerable distance from Morant Bay, where houses were said to have been plundered and even destroyed by the negroes. Governor Eyre states in the first paragraph of his despatch dated Oct. 20 that,—

The outbreak commenced at Morant Bay, in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and rapidly spread through the contiguous parishes.—P. 1.

But in looking through about thirty letters from magistrates and other, from half-a-dozen different places, there is nothing indicating a repetition of the doings at Morant Bay, even on the smallest scale. Nor did the Governor deem it necessary to proclaim martial law in any other part of the island than the county of Surrey. The "disturbances" in the other villages and settlements appear to have been occasioned by the movements of about 1,000 troops, scattered about in bands of from fifty to 100, treating the whole of the coloured population as "rebels," frightening them into flight, pursuing, capturing, killing, and flogging them, and utterly destroying their dwellings and property.

The injuries to persons and property inflicted by the negroes are thus described by the Governor:—

The most frightful atrocities were perpetrated. The island curate of Bath, the Rev. V. Herschell, is said to have had his tongue cut out whilst still alive, and an attempt is said to have been made to skin him. One person (Mr. Charles Price), a black gentleman, formerly a member of the Assembly, was ripped open, and his entrails taken out. One gentleman (Lieutenant Hall of the Volunteers) is said to have been pushed into an outbuilding, which was then set on fire, and kept there until he was literally roasted alive. Many are said to have had their eyes scooped out; heads were cleft open and the brains taken out. The baron's fingers were cut off and carried away as trophies by the murderers. Some bodies were half-burnt, others horribly battered. Indeed, the whole outrage could only be paralleled by the atrocities of the Indian mutiny. The women, as usual on such occasions, were even more brutal and barbarous than the men, the only redeeming trait being that, so far as we could learn, no ladies or children had as yet been injured. All the principal inhabitants of the district had been killed, and the entire volunteer force (with the exception of a few who escaped) consisting of twenty-two officers and men, nobly died at their posts, gallantly doing their duty.—P. 3.

The details of the atrocities thus given by the Governor are not corroborated by any of the numerous statements accompanying his despatch, except the case of Baron von Kettelhodt. Respecting him, Mr. Stephen Cooke says:—"It was currently reported that after the custos had been killed, they partially severed all the fingers of the right hand, saying this was the damned hand that wrote to the Queen against the people."—P. 19. The statements communicating the death of the other persons mentioned say nothing of the barbarities attributed to the negroes.

Captain de Horsey, writing to Governor Eyre immediately after the attack upon the court-house at Morant Bay (12th Oct.), says that about twenty-eight men, including the custos, had been murdered, and the court-house burnt down.

On the 19th Oct. the Hon. W. Hossack writes:—"It is only a week yesterday since the rebellion broke out. In that time not less than thirty persons have been murdered."

c. To what cause is the outbreak attributed?

"There is no intelligible cause for this sad outbreak."—*Gov. Eyre*, P. 20. Also again in p. 48.

"There can be little doubt, I think, that whatever Mr. Gordon's intentions may have been, it is entirely due to his agitation, bad advice, and seditious language amongst the peasantry of this colony that the rebellion broke out."—*Gov. Eyre's despatch to Gen. O'Connor*, concurring in "the justice of the sentence upon Gordon, and 'the policy of carrying it into effect.'"—P. 24.

"Up to the present time no reasonable or intelligible cause has been assigned as the origin of this most wicked and widespread rebellion. I cannot myself doubt that it is in a great degree due to Dr. Underhill's letter, and the meetings held in connection with that letter. . . . The parties who have more immediately taken part in these nefarious proceedings are:—firstly, G. W. Gordon, a member of Assembly and a Baptist preacher; secondly, several black persons, chiefly of the Baptist persuasion, connected with him; thirdly, various political demagogues and agitators who, having no character or property to lose, make a trade of exciting the ignorant people; fourthly, a few persons of better information and education, who find their interest in acquiring an influence among the black people; fifthly, a few Baptist missionaries, who, like Messrs. Henderson, Reid, Denny, Hewitt, and Maxwell, endorse at public meetings or otherwise all the untruthful statements and insinuations propagated in Dr. Underhill's letter; and lastly, a section of the press, which, like the *Watchman* and the *County Union*, is always disseminating seditious doctrines, and endeavouring to bring into contempt the representative of the Sovereign, and all constituted authority."—Pp. 7–8. *Gov. Eyre's despatch* 20th Oct.

Mr. Cardwell thus replies to that part of the Governor's statement referring to Dr. Underhill's letter:—

"In your despatch of the 20th of October, you say that you cannot doubt that the rebellion of the negroes in Jamaica is in a great degree due to Dr. Underhill's letter, and the meetings held in connection with it. That letter was originally addressed, not to discontented persons in Jamaica, but to me; and was by me forwarded to you for your report. I am desirous to know whether it was by your sanction that it first obtained publicity in Jamaica, and if not, what, so far as you know, were the circumstances under which it became the cause of political agitation."—Dec. 1. P. 243.

These extracts will suffice for division I. They could not well have been fewer, nor, fairly, shorter. They convey a just and fair impression of what the documents which have been laid before Parliament say in

* There are two letters from Col. Hobbs to Governor Eyre, dated Oct. 19, but no mention is made of being surrounded by rebels at all,—indeed he complains of their having been "too cowardly" to meet him. There is another letter from Colonel Elkington, dated Oct. 24, referring to some such statement of Colonel Hobbs', but doubting the accuracy of it and the inexpediency of General O'Connor acting upon it.

† The reports of officers speak of their not being "molested on the road," the "rebels everywhere fled," &c.

reference to the cause, nature, and extent of the disturbances. The three remaining divisions may be dealt with in a future letter, if your space should permit.

I am, Sir, yours truly,

S. GOSSLING.

Bilston, Feb. 17, 1866.

Parliamentary Proceedings.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

On Thursday, the Earl of SHAFTESBURY presented a petition from Stapenhill, Derbyshire, for legislative measures against innovations in church ceremonies. Earl GRANVILLE, in reply to a question from Lord Stratheden, stated that the Government had no intention of proceeding to deal with the cattle plague by way of resolution. Various returns were moved for, in most instances having reference to the cattle plague, and their Lordships adjourned at twenty minutes to six o'clock.

On Friday, Lord GRANVILLE read a report from Mr. Simonds, the Government inspector, respecting Mr. Worms's treatment of diseased cows at Mentmore, in which he questioned the existence of the real cattle plague in any of the animals that had been so treated and had recovered.

Lord RUSSELL announced that the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland had expressed to the Government his opinion that a temporary suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in that country was necessary. A bill for that purpose would be presented to both Houses of Parliament next day. After a few remarks on the subject from the Earl of DERBY,

Lord MALMESBURY drew attention to the subject of lifeboats on the coast, and complained that the provision of such valuable means of saving life should be left to private benevolence, unaided by Government contribution. The Duke of SOMERSET admitted the valuable efforts of the National Lifeboat Institution, and believed that Government interference would be rather injurious than beneficial. The Coastguard also rendered good service in the saving of lives and property.

Lord POWIS inquired whether the Government intended to reconsider the Treasury Minute which fixed the minimum rate of interest payable upon loans under the Public Loan Acts at 5 per cent., a rate which, he said, was too high to demand of public bodies, and which greatly interfered with the beneficial working of that otherwise useful act. Lord RUSSELL stated that there was no present intention of altering the practice. Lord OVERSTONE defended the Treasury Minute, and expressed his surprise that a moment when the rate of interest was so high, and when England was seeking capital in foreign markets, should be selected for a proposition to reduce the very moderate interest charged upon public loans.

After a brief conversation upon various points arising out of the cattle plague, the House adjourned at twenty minutes to seven o'clock.

SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT IN IRELAND.

On Saturday, Earl RUSSELL moved the second reading of the Habeas Corpus (Ireland) Suspension Bill, which had just (at half-past four o'clock) been brought up from the Commons, and detailed the circumstances under which the Government had determined on the measure, and which were fully set forth by Sir George Grey in the other House.

The Earl of DERBY, in a brief speech, signified his assent to the immediate passing of the bill on the responsibility of the Government; and took occasion to state his belief that so early as 1859 conspiracy of the nature of Fenianism existed in Ireland. But the Government, upon their responsibility, having proposed this measure, and the House of Commons having passed it with a very insignificant minority of dissentients, he hoped their lordships would not hesitate to give it their unanimous support.

The standing orders having been suspended, the bill passed through all its stages forthwith.

Lord STANLEY of ALDERLEY brought in a bill to give power to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to take possession of the telegraphs in that country, in a manner similar to that possessed by the English Government.

The sitting was then, at twenty minutes after five, suspended till 11 o'clock.

At half-past 11 o'clock p.m. their lordships re-assembled, the House being then composed of the Lord Chancellor upon the woolsack, Lord Bateman and the Earl of Galloway upon the Opposition side of the House, and the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Bessborough upon the front Ministerial bench.

The Cattle Diseases Bill was brought up from the Commons and read a first time.

At twenty-five minutes to 1 o'clock the Commissioners appointed to give the Royal Assent to the Bill for the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland entered the House in their robes.

The SPEAKER and several members having attended in answer to the summons of the Black Rod, the commission was read, and the Royal Assent was formally given to the bill.

The House adjourned at a quarter to 1 o'clock.

On Monday the Irish Telegraph Bill passed through all its stages, the standing orders being suspended.

THE CATTLE PLAGUE.

Lord GRANVILLE, in moving the second reading of the Cattle Diseases Bill, briefly explained its nature, and, in consideration of the importance and urgency of the occasion, invited their Lordships' concurrence with the House of Commons in this endeavour to meet the great emergency that had presented itself.

After considerable discussion, in the course of which several peers deprecated extreme haste and others objected to indiscriminate slaughter, the bill was read a second time.

The standing orders were then suspended, and the House went into committee upon the bill.

Considerable discussion took place upon the various clauses, which were eventually all agreed to up to clause 11. Lord AIRLIE objected to the summary powers given by clause 12, which, he said, would destroy all the animals which had recovered from the disease, and which were admitted to be the most valuable for future breeding. He therefore moved an amendment to the effect that where animals were certified by an inspector and justices to be recovering it should be optional, and not compulsory, upon the local authorities to direct the slaughter of such cattle. Lord GRANVILLE admitted that there was much to be said in favour of the amendment, but as the bill was only a temporary measure, designed to meet a temporary evil, he thought the fewer exceptions to its stringent execution that were made the better. Lord DALHOUSIE supported the amendment, which was opposed by Lord LICHFIELD and Lord EGERTON. Lord STANLEY of ALDERLEY regarded the clause as too stringent. The Duke of BRUCE also urged the necessity of granting some discretion to the local authorities. Lord SPENCER pointed out the difficulty of distinguishing between possible cases of recovery, and suggested that, in the general interest, it would be better to destroy all animals in which the seeds of disease might be latent after attack rather than to rely upon doubtful methods of cure, which might be successful in some cases and completely fail in others. The Duke of ARGYLL supported the amendment, which was eventually negatived by 52 to 15.

The remained clauses were agreed to, after short discussion; but upon clause 10, which had been postponed,

Lord LICHFIELD proposed an amendment requiring inspectors to state in writing their reasons before entering upon any premises. This amendment was lost, upon a division, by a majority of one.

The bill was then read a third time and passed.

Their Lordships adjourned shortly after nine o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE CATTLE PLAGUE.

The House did not sit till two o'clock on Wednesday, it being Ash-Wednesday.

On the motion for the second reading of the Cattle Disease Bill,

Mr. HUNT passed in review the provisions of the bill, condemning the system of licences, and expressing his preference for a compulsory and uniform set of regulations applicable to the whole country. He approved many of the regulations of the bill, pointing out that some of them, however, were already in force under the Orders in Council. He regretted that the Government had not proposed to stop the movement of cattle altogether for a limited period, both by road and rail, and announced his intention of taking the sense of the House upon this point. The urgency of the case prevented him from moving the rejection of the Government bill as a whole, and, besides, he did not wish to make it a party question, and to run the risk of a Ministerial crisis. At the same time he acquiesced in the tenure of office by the present Government much less willingly since the death of Lord Palmerston, and the loss they had sustained by the retirement of one of their number, who among all the members of Lord Palmerston's late Government was one of the least liable to pressure, with the exception of Lord Palmerston himself.

And if, as rumour says, the right hon. gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department is obliged to seek repose and rest from the cares of office, the Chancellor of the Exchequer will find that notwithstanding the new hands on board he will find increased difficulties in steering the Government boat through the troubled waters. (Hear, hear.) But while saying unreservedly that I should have no objection to see the displacement of the present Government, always supposing that a good and a strong Government could be put in its place, I could never consent to let a question of this sort become a party question. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BRIGHT said that it seemed as if the House was about to legislate in a panic, and the bill suffered accordingly. The Home Secretary had been rather hustled in the matter, and he doubted if Sir G. Grey or Mr. Gladstone entirely approved some portions of the bill. The principles of the measure were isolation, slaughter, and compensation. He thought if isolation were well established, indiscriminate slaughter would not be necessary. The permission to slaughter being accompanied by compensation, it would lead to enormous massacres, while it would tend to put an end to all attempts at a curative process. As it had been said that the infection might be carried by dogs, and there was a regulation with regard to them in the bill, he asked whether the disease might not be propagated by the sport of hunting, and whether it might not be stopped during the next month. It was not a subject he was well qualified to discuss, but he would say that if there were anything any of them could give up—(Hear, hear)—the giving up of which would tend to lessen or remove a calamity which must reduce many hundreds of farmers, probably, to poverty, they ought to give that up with the greatest possible pleasure. (Cheers.) He objected to the giving compensation out of what was in fact public taxation, for the benefit of a particular class, and suggested that the poor farmers who had lost their all might well be compensated by public subscription, on the plan that was adopted in the case of the cotton operatives. He would rather give five times as much

in a subscription to a fund to relieve those humble and much-suffering people than pay anything to a county rate to compensate rich men in that House or out of it—("Oh, oh")—to whom that calamity, grievous as it was, came in the shape of a bad debt, or of a shipwreck, or of a cotton famine such as they have passed through in Lancashire. If that system of paying out of taxes were established, it would probably put an end in future to all kinds of providence on the part of farmers. They would feel that they could come to this House in case of any calamity of that kind, and they would have less inducement than ever before to establish and to support insurance societies. He had been told on fair authority, that the disease during the last twelve months had not killed more cattle in the country than died from the lung disease in the year 1860. He had no authentic facts on the subject, because they had no reliable agricultural statistics, which the farmers themselves opposed. If they had had those statistics, if they knew the mortality among cattle from the lung disease in 1860, they would have had not only evidence of the necessity of insurance, but the facts and figures upon which a safe cattle insurance company could be based. He hoped hon. gentlemen opposite, instead of being panic-stricken, would be content with the system of isolation, and would believe that this scourge, like all other scourges of that nature, whether they attached to our own species or what we are pleased to call in our dignity the inferior animals—(laughter)—that scourges of that kind had their course and their time, and they run their course, and no power of man hitherto had been able to obstruct it.

Colonel LLOYD LINDSAY supported the bill, preferring it to that of Mr. Hunt. With regard to fox-hunting and the cattle plague, he believed that if the farmers were to declare their wish, the hounds should be at once stopped, and the country gentlemen would at once give way. (Cheers.) He was quite satisfied they would not stand out for an instant; but he was not aware that the farmers had ever said a word about it. They were quite aware that the plague might be carried by a fly or a bird, but foxhounds did not carry it. (Great laughter.) They were confined all night in their kennels, and kept under proper regulations.

Mr. LOWE characterised Mr. Bright's speech as a specimen of his peculiarities of manufacturing grievances, and of setting class against class; even endeavouring to set aristocratic foxhound against the "humble cur." The hon. member sought to make it appear that one of the objects of the bill was to comply with a demand on the part of the rich members of the community, and, above all, of members of that House, to be indemnified from losses which this great calamity brought upon them at the expense of their poorer neighbours. That was a misrepresentation of the facts.

Is it not known to every gentleman that the object of this bill is not to compensate for what persons have lost, but for what they have lost by the direct agency of the Government—(Hear, hear)—in taking possession of and destroying their property for the public good, and for the public good alone? Is that a new principle? If it is necessary to destroy houses to fortify a town, or to destroy any other property for a public purpose, there is no civilised Government in the world that does not compensate the person whose property is taken; and why are we to be considered as doing anything wrong and invidious when we apply this principle to the present calamity? Let us go further. It is assumed that the object is to reimburse and to compensate the farmer. That is not, as I understand it, the object. The effect of this bill may be to indemnify the farmer against part of his losses; but the object is not indemnification; it is a very different one. It is well known to all who have studied this question that the farmer has no inducement held out to him to make known the presence of the disease: he will conceal it; he will send his cattle, tainted, very probably, with the disease, to other places to get rid of them, and thus the disease is diffused. The first condition to dealing efficiently with the disease in any way is that its presence should be known, and the only way of making it known is to give those who are first aware of its existence an interest in disclosing the fact. This is the object of compensation; it is that the farmer should feel he will be indemnified, to some degree, at the public expense, if he will only do the public a service by making known the existence of the cattle disease so as to enable proper precautions to be taken. It is said that this ought to be done by insurance; but the hon. gentleman has answered himself. He has himself shown that, owing to the absence of agricultural statistics, we have not the means of calculating an average; it is impossible to ascertain any definite proportion of risk, and without that you cannot have a system of insurance upon commercial principles.

He thought, however, that the compensation should come, not out of the county rates, but from the Consolidated Fund. He approved of the provisions of the bill with regard to slaughter, but he urged that those relating to the movement of cattle should be reconsidered, and that railway movement should be stopped. He pointed out that the regulations of the bill were so complicated that, at it was only to last for six weeks it would, like many persons in the world, die before it was understood, and expressed a hope that the second, or cattle-rate would not be pressed, the visitation being general, and also that power would be taken to stop the slaughter, if by any chance a remedy for the disease should be discovered.

Mr. J. S. MILL, who rose amidst marks of the special attention of the House, but who spoke in so low a tone of voice that his observations were but very imperfectly heard, said there was only one point raised in the course of the discussion on which he considered that he was qualified to form an opinion, and that being the case, he thought it better that he should leave all other topics to the discretion of the

Government, who had the best means of becoming acquainted with the nature of the measure which the emergency required, and who were the parties most responsible for its failure or success. The single topic on which he thought he could form his own judgment was one which had been raised by the hon. member for Birmingham, and as that hon. gentleman had been taken severely to task for the opinions he had expressed, and as he (Mr. Mill) agreed very much in those opinions, he believed he would be acting unworthily if he declined to give to them all the support in his power. (Hear, hear.) The point to which he referred was the subject of compensation, and upon that question he wished to state that although he did not object to the principle of compensation, he objected in the very highest degree to its amount, as proposed in that bill, and also to the manner in which it was to be provided. The farmers, as he understood, were not to receive compensation simply for what they lost, but they were to receive compensation for the losses which they sustained through the interference of Parliament—(Hear, hear)—and he agreed with his right hon. friend the member for Calne that no valid objection could be offered to such a principle. He entirely adopted the conclusion of his right hon. friend that the farmers who might own diseased cattle ought not to be subject to the temptation of concealing that fact, and of thus helping to propagate the disease. They must consider whether two-thirds of the value of the animal, as proposed, would be a fair compensation. If the animal was actually diseased, the farmer would be a gainer by its being destroyed. He assumed that the price of the animal would be what it would be worth in the market in its existing state. (No, no.) Unless it could be shown that an animal already affected was worth two-thirds of the price which it would sell for if healthy, then two-thirds would be excessive compensation. (Hear.) He would not say that this compensation would be exaggerated if the animal was not infected, but the difference between two-thirds and three-fourths with reference to the animal being diseased or healthy, was really very small. It was obvious, if they looked to the ultimate result, that whatever number of cattle might perish, prices would be raised in proportion, and that the loss would fall, not on the producers, but on the consumers. Both farmers and landlords suffered also, but they only suffered to the same extent as all the other members of the community who were consumers. The conclusion he had come to was that no particular class suffered in the long run, and that the loss would be borne by the whole community. No class, as a class, had therefore the smallest claim for compensation from the remainder. Instead of compensating those on whom the loss would fall, they proposed to tax them. (Hear.) As he had said, it seemed to him that as a class the landlord interest and the farming interest had no claim to compensation. The only reason why compensation was just in the present case was not because the loss fell on the land or on the farmer, but because it fell on them with such extreme inequality. ("Hear, hear," from Mr. Newdegate.) He certainly did not anticipate that in the long run the agricultural interest would be losers by this calamity. (Hear.) At the same time he did not blame the Government for introducing the bill, although it did what it ought not to do, viz., compensate an entire class connected with the land for losses in which they only shared. It did what ought not to be done, and did not do what ought to be done. The consequence was that precisely those portions of the agricultural interest which had not suffered would pay the least, while those who had suffered most would have to pay a great deal. (Cheers.)

Viscount CRANBORNE suggested that, as the emergency to which the bill was devoted was pressing, it would be better to leave such questions as the theoretical duties of aristocracies alone, and apply themselves to the practical question of staying the cattle plague. He urged that compensation would not induce farmers to slaughter their cattle, because that would not be at their option, but at that of the local authorities, who had a direct interest to keep the slaughter at the lowest possible point, because they would have to pay for their dead. (Cheers.) Therefore, instead of stimulating the slaughter of cattle by appealing to the cupidity of the farmer, they really restrained the slaughter by appealing to the economy of the local authorities. (Hear, hear.) He argued that in previous cases of local suffering, Parliament had come forward to give aid to particular interests, but the cattle plague was not a local but a general and national question and misfortune, the extent of which to the consumer, as well as to the producer, has not yet been comprehended. If the disease continued, the price of meat would no doubt rise. It was said that the working man would have beef, but if there was no beef for him to have, if continental Governments, as they already threatened, prevented him from having access to the supplies, he asked the House to consider how far the interests and the tranquillity of this country might not be compromised by the neglect they are now invited to approve. (Cheers.) The effect of the Government bill would be to place the utmost difficulty in the way of the cattle reaching the consumer, while it gave every facility for the rinderpest reaching the cattle. (Cheers and laughter.)

After observations from Mr. Ayrton, Mr. Neville Grenville, and Sir G. Grey, who declined to enter into the discussion at half-past five, and asked that the second reading might be passed,

The bill was read a second time.

The Cattle Plague Bill (Mr. Hunt's) was read a

second time, and the House adjourned at twenty minutes to six o'clock.

METROPOLITAN RAILWAYS.

On Thursday (at the time of private business) Mr. Doulton moved that the Metropolitan and St. John's-wood Railway Bill be read a second time that day six months, mainly on the ground that it encroached on Hampstead-heath.

Mr. HUGHES said that if the House did not insist on proper terms being made with the poor, those metropolitan companies would become a great social tyranny such as ten years ago none of us would have believed we could ever submit to.

And not only would it be a tyranny, but a tyranny without prestige, tradition, or picturesque. (A laugh.) Already grievous injury had been inflicted on vast numbers of the humbler classes, who had been turned out of their holdings on compensation amounting to one or two weeks' rent. (Hear, hear.) More than mere temporary inconvenience was caused to very many of those poor people, for the small trades in which they were engaged were utterly destroyed through their being obliged to leave the neighbourhood in which they had established themselves. (Hear, hear.) The railway company having turned out the former population, next came a great contractor with his 500 navigators. Many contractors made no provision for these men in their new neighbourhood. The clergymen and some of the better classes endeavoured to get up schools with a view of trying to lick this great mass into shape. They appealed to the railway company and got perhaps a 5*l.* note. (A laugh.) All this was done, and great blots were put on the map of the metropolis that a man might be able to get from one side of the town to the other in five minutes' less time. (Hear, hear.)

The amendment was agreed to, and consequently the bill was lost.

The North Metropolitan Railway Bill was read a second time.

CAPTURE OF PRIVATE PROPERTY AT SEA.

Mr. GREGORY gave notice that on Friday, the 2nd of March, he should move an address to her Majesty, humbly requesting her to use her influence with foreign Powers for the purpose of making the principle that private property should be free from capture by sea a maxim of international law.

THE CATTLE PLAGUE.

The Cattle Disease Bill was committed. Various verbal amendments were made in the earlier clauses without much discussion, and on Clause 13, which relates to the slaughter of diseased animals and the compensation to be given to the owners.

Mr. BRIGHT renewed his protest against indiscriminate slaughter and against the principle of compensation out of rates raised from the whole community particularly to the extent proposed by the bill. He thought the agricultural interest ought to have powerful insurance societies to meet sudden calamities. If they had had them—if the farmers had been as provident as other people—they would not have asked Parliament to do what would have been done for themselves. Therefore, now, when Parliament had as it were, to bring into one comprehensive scheme a general plan of relief, he thought they ought to abstain from the imposition of any rate or tax whatsoever in connection with this matter, except on that great, influential, and most worthy class of society connected with the ownership and cultivation of the soil. ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) He thought the House was about to adopt a principle which heretofore they had never adopted, and which if they accepted now would bring them into great difficulty at some future time, and have a most pernicious influence on every class of the country that might chance to come under any special calamity.

Lately we have had some special calamities. In Yorkshire a great calamity was occasioned by the overflow of a reservoir; in Sheffield there was a large amount of damage. In Lancashire there was the cotton famine. In these cases a magnificent generosity was displayed on the part of the public—so magnificent that a considerable percentage of the subscriptions had to be returned. Nothing could be more generous on the part of the nation, nothing could give more pleasure than such a fact; but, if you establish the principle of this bill in case the cotton-spinners or shipowners on the one hand, and farmers on the other, shall come under the pressure of such a calamity as this, and especially a calamity against which they might have provided, you will do much to dry up all those springs of benevolent generosity and bring many persons to the bar of this House asking some such pernicious measure, founded on the principle of this bill. I appeal to hon. gentlemen opposite, as the most wealthy class in this country—"Hear, hear," and counter-cheers)—as the class with the most certain property and—what shall I call it?—the most unvarying, except that it is a constantly increasing, income. (A laugh.) We all know perfectly well how much their rents have increased since we ruined them in bulk 20 years ago. (A laugh.) Well, I believe that if the plan I propose be adopted—supposing compensation must be given—if it be confined, as it ought to be confined, only to owners and occupiers of land, you may give, of course, an extensive relief, just as you will by this bill; it will not make any very essential difference to any gentleman I see before me, or any of their friends, but it will keep Parliament from the commission of an error which if you commit now will bring us, I am perfectly certain, into many occasions of difficulty hereafter.

He thought the proposition for retrospective compensation ought not to be tolerated for a moment. The Chancellor of the Exchequer refused to a sixpence in a speech on the Budget if he wanted the repeal of the most trumpery duty, as if the whole revenue of the country depended upon it; but because that is a matter of county or local expenditure, he does not appear to care how much the country paid. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was bound to exercise equal economy with regard to local taxation as he would in a matter relating to the taxation of tea

and coffee, or to the expenditure for the civil and military service. He moved that the clause under consideration, and of course the other clauses with regard to compensation, be postponed for further consideration.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER allowed that Mr. Bright and Mr. J. S. Mill in their remarks on the preceding day on the amount of compensation for diseased cattle slaughtered, had hit a blot in the bill, but reminded them that a chief object of compensation was to induce farmers to reveal the existence of the disease. He professed himself thoroughly alive to the danger of fixing the rate too high. Still it would be a great mistake, in his opinion, to fix the rate of compensation in such cases too low. (Loud cheers.) Isolation he did not regard as sufficient to prevent the disease. In a part of the country with which he was familiar the traffic had been stopped, and the farms altogether isolated, yet the disease had travelled from farm to farm. When it reached a certain point the air became impregnated with it, and they cannot trust to isolation as a protection.

The amendment was withdrawn.

The discussion was continued by Mr. HUNT, who recommended that a scale of compensation for different classes of animals should be embodied in a schedule; by Mr. B. STANHOPE, Lord CRANBORNE, and Sir E. COLEBROOKE, and ultimately the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER proposed to alter the clause so as to provide that compensation may be given up to one-half the value of the animal when sound, the amount not to exceed 20*l.* The amendment was opposed by Sir F. KELLY, who urged the hardship inflicted on the stockowner by being compelled to slaughter his beasts without an effort to cure them, as a claim to liberal compensation; by Mr. NEWDEGATE, who maintained that the Government ought to pay the same rate of compensation as the assurance companies, which in his county was three-fourths; by Lord J. MANNERS, who complained that the amendment was a surprise, and other members. Mr. BRIGHT, in supporting the amendment, pointed out to Mr. Newdegate that the higher rate paid by the assurance societies was in return for a premium paid by the cattle-owners. Mr. HENLEY was of opinion that on the whole one-half of the value was a fair amount. Mr. DISRAELI complained of the inconsistency of the Government in running away from their first opinion, which, he said, placed those who, like himself, were anxious to assist the Government in passing the bill rapidly in a situation of great embarrassment. On the whole, he recommended his friends to accept the amendment. The amendment was then agreed to.

On the 16th clause, which gives discretionary power to the local authorities to order the slaughter of cattle herded with diseased animals, Mr. BRIGHT proposed an amendment to the effect that this slaughter should not take place without the consent of the owners. He read a letter describing the successful treatment of Baron Rothschild's cattle at Mentmore by Mr. Worms' process. Sir G. GREY said that the authorities in many cases insisted that the slaughter of these animals was quite as important as that of the diseased cattle. Mr. HUNT warned the House not to trust too much to these remedies, which had hitherto proved delusive. Mr. TOLLMACH informed the House that Mr. Worms' remedy had been tried on his and his brother's farm in Cheshire, and had proved a failure. Some further discussion took place, and on a division the amendment was rejected by 388 to 50.

On the motion of Sir G. GREY a proviso was added to Clause 17 excluding from compensation persons who have violated the orders.

The clause relating to retrospective compensation was negatived with a view to its reconsideration.

On Clause 21, which relates to the movement of cattle, Mr. HUNT moved the first of a series of amendments prohibiting the total removal of cattle until March 25, and announced that if he carried it he should then propose to insert in the clause a string of exceptions to this general rule. Sir GEORGE GREY objected to the proposal, on the ground that sufficient facilities did not exist for the supply of dead meat to the great centres of population, and he feared, therefore, that it would have the effect of raising the price of the food of the people. Mr. HENLEY believed that the amendment, on the whole, would be attended with the least inconvenience. Mr. HEADLAM referred to the case of Newcastle to show what inconvenience the total prohibition would cause in the great towns. Mr. LOWE pointed out that the question was not with what degree of strictness or laxity the movement of cattle should be permitted, but whether Parliament should not embody in this bill the regulations under which it thought this movement should be permitted instead of leaving them to be settled by a number of local authorities. He earnestly exhorted the House not to let slip the present opportunity of checking the disease, and warned them that if it were not checked by the middle of April the calamity would exceed the worst apprehensions. Captain JERVIS assured the House that the great railway companies would have no difficulty in supplying the towns with dead meat. Lord ELMOR referred to the fact that this prohibition had been unanimously recommended by the conference at St. James's Hall, and expressed a strong conviction that without it the bill would be so much waste paper. He believed that this was not a party but a great national question, and unless they passed the motion of the hon. member a heavy responsibility would lie on the House. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. O. STANLEY said that while some 54,000 head arrived in Liverpool to be taken to London and other places, nearly 40,000 came to Holyhead. At Liver-

pool there might be means for slaughtering the cattle thus imported, but there were no such facilities at the small ports.

Mr. WEGUELIN observed that although the people of Wolverhampton were partly supplied from the agricultural districts surrounding them, they drew their chief supplies from foreign countries through the ports of Liverpool and Hull; and the members of the town council had asserted that if the supply of food to that large mining population were interfered with they would not answer for the peace of the borough. (Cries of "Oh!" and "Divide.")

The CHAIRMAN then put the question that the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause. [The response in the affirmative was very moderate as compared with the shout of those holding a contrary opinion, and when the Chairman, notwithstanding this, declared that the "Ayes" had it, his announcement was greeted with a loud laugh.]

The House then divided, with the following result:—

For the clause as it stood ...	181
For the amendment ...	264
Majority for the amendment ...	—83

The announcement of the numbers was received with loud cheers.

On the suggestion of Mr. BOUVIER, the Chairman was ordered to report progress.

The National Debt Reduction, the Savings-banks and Post-office Savings-banks, and the Pensions Bills were read a second time.

THE GOVERNMENT OF JAMAICA.

Mr. CARDWELL asked for leave to introduce a bill to make provision for the Government of Jamaica, and explained that its scope was to ratify the measure which the Legislature of Jamaica had passed, substituting for the present Government a form of Government similar to that which prevailed in Trinidad. The operation of the bill would be limited to three years, which would enable the House to obtain more complete information as to the state of the colony than it yet possessed, and also to judge of the effect of the measures which might be taken for the improvement of the colony. At the end of that period Parliament would have either to make the bill perpetual or to provide some other form of government.

After a short discussion, leave was given to introduce the bill, which was read a first time.

The other business was disposed of, and the House adjourned at five minutes past one o'clock.

On Friday Mr. H. SHERIDAN gave notice that, on an early day, he should submit to the House a resolution in favour of the further reduction of the duty on fire insurance; Mr. H. LABOUCHERE, that on Friday next he should call attention to the inadequacy of our Neutrality Laws to enable us to fulfil our international obligation towards foreign countries; Mr. AYTON, that on the 27th he should move for a Select Committee to inquire into the local Government and local taxation of the metropolis.

Sir G. GREY, amid general cheering, announced that he should on the following day bring in a bill to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland.

THE CATTLE PLAGUE.

In answer to a question from Mr. Hunt, Sir GEORGE GREY said that the Government would acquiesce in the decision of the House on the preceding night, and the mode in which they proposed to carry it out was by embodying in one bill the provisions as to compulsory slaughter, compensation, and the rates to be levied for that purpose, and Mr. Hunt's amendment absolutely prohibiting the removal of cattle by railway. This would leave the movement of cattle by road and the exceptions to be dealt with in a separate bill. He acquiesced in the committal of Mr. Hunt's bill *pro forma*. The House then went into committee on Sir G. Grey's bill. Several clauses relating to collateral matters connected with the movement of cattle were negatived, and

On clause 31, which specifies the manner in which the compensation shall be provided, Mr. AYTON took objection to the proposal to raise one-third of the compensation by a cattle rate, and showed the hardship which it would inflict on the owners of diseased cattle. He preferred that the whole sum should be raised from the local rates. Mr. J. S. MILL contended that farmers, in the long run, would suffer only in their capacity as consumers, and in consequence of the rise in prices would suffer no more than any other class of consumers. He argued, therefore, that it would be a great hardship on the consumers if they were called on to pay a rate to compensate the producers for a loss which would ultimately be made good by the natural course of trade. He maintained that the producers would not suffer as a class, but only as individuals by the unequal manner in which the loss fell upon them; consequently, the only part of the clause which he approved was the rate on cattle. Mr. B. COCHRANE and Sir J. PAXINGTON argued in favour of drawing a portion of the rate from the general funds of the county. Sir W. JOLLIFFE recommended that the whole charge should be borne by the county-rate; Mr. J. B. SMITH the imposition of a general cattle rate. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER characterised the proposal to lay the Consolidated Fund under contribution as novel, inexpedient, and entirely unasked-for by the agriculturalists, and reminded the House of the forcible argument used by Mr. Lowe, that to secure the great advantages of a local administration it was necessary that some portion of the funds should be raised from local sources. As to the proposal to levy the whole by a general cattle-rate, he said that the Government, in the particular proposal they had made, had acted on the principle that no persons were more interested

in checking the disease than stockowners in the neighbourhood of infected districts, and they further believed that it would have the effect of preventing any kind of contest between town and country.

Mr. LOWE was afraid the member for Westminster was a little too clever for them in that House. (Ironical cheers.) His argument was founded on the fallacious assumption that this was a mere question of indemnity—(Hear, hear),—but it was no question of indemnifying people for losses, but of paying men with a view of getting rid of the cattle plague. (Hear, hear.) They were seeking to avert a great national calamity, which must fall heavily on all. Let them all contribute to this special rate, as they pay their other rates. If they claimed exemption, they might as well say that because a gentleman and his family were free from madness he ought not to be taxed to pay for a lunatic asylum. (Laughter and cheers.) And besides, that was a new tax in a bill that was going to be in force for only six weeks. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. S. MILL said his right hon. friend had laid down the proposition that it did not always necessarily follow that the effect of a scarcity of a commodity was to raise the price for those who sold it. But he would remind his right hon. friend that milk was an article of the first-rate necessity, and it was not conceivable that a scarcity of milk should take place without raising the price. To the argument of his right hon. friend respecting the cattle that came in by importation he would give the answer he had given before, namely, that the quantity imported was still very small in proportion to the whole quantity used. It seemed to have excited a good deal of scorn on the other side of the House because he had said it was unworthy of the landed interest of this country or any aristocracy. (Cries of "Oh, oh!" in which the conclusion of the sentence was lost.) There was one illustration in his right hon. friend's speech to which he would wish to reply, and it was this. He said, "Is it not to be considered absurd that because a man or any of his family is not mad, he should expect not to be taxed for a lunatic asylum?" Now, he (Mr. Mill) asked, was there any economical law by which the patients of a lunatic asylum were compensated for the expense of their maintenance in that asylum. (Much laughter.)

Sir G. GREY intimated that the Government, seeing the feeling of the House, would give up their proposal of a cattle-rate, leaving the whole expense to be provided out of the county rate. (Loud cheering from the Opposition benches.)

The clause was amended to this effect.

On clause 50, which gives a legislative sanction to the Orders in Council issued on this subject, Lord R. MONTAGU asked what the intentions of the Government were in regard to retrospective compensation. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said the Government had not abandoned the principle of retrospective compensation, but desired to reconsider the manner in which it could be carried out.

Several clauses rendered unnecessary by the alterations in the bill were omitted, and the remainder were agreed to after a long discussion.

A clause was added, enabling the Queen in Council to suspend at any time the operation of the Act as regards the slaughter of animals.

Mr. Hunt's bill was committed *pro forma*.

The House adjourned at ten minutes before one o'clock.

(Continued on Page 152.)

THE FENIANS.

The Irish Government did not wait for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act to commence their repressive measures. Early on Saturday morning arrests were made. The conspirators in Dublin were taken by surprise, and the consequence was that with very few exceptions the police succeeded in pouncing upon all whom they had previously marked as "wanted." The total number of arrests up to Sunday evening was ninety-five.

The correspondent of the *Morning Star* writes:—

Of those arrested, thirty-nine or forty are Irish Americans, and described themselves as "American citizens," all of whom had been in the American army, and held various ranks in it, from that of general down to that of a mere private. Nearly all the remainder are "Irish-English" or "Irish-Scotch," only some half dozen being natives of Dublin or its vicinity. The exceptions consist of a few who were known to have made themselves active in the furtherance of the Fenian movement. Among the number are three who hold the rank of general in the American army—viz., Generals Burke, M'Dermott, and Kirwan. Nearly all the "strangers," and, as I have said, that comprises nine-tenths of the whole number, have been residing at hotels and lodging-houses in the city for some months without any visible means of support, and without any apparent pursuit except that of travelling up and down the country. They had been repeatedly warned by the police to leave the city, but they invariably answered that so long as they paid their way they had as good right to remain here as any one else. When arrested yesterday they were informed that if they would give an account of themselves, give a reference, or show that they had any legitimate business to attend to, they would be set free. This, however, almost without exception, they refused to do.

Among the few who belonged to Dublin or Kingstown—who, in fact, are not "strangers," and are therefore arrested on other grounds than that they could not give an account of themselves—are Mr. Bergin, publican, of Thomas-street, at whose house, it was sworn on some of the recent trials, the members of the brotherhood had been in the habit of assembling; Mr. Carey, proprietor of the City Mansion Hotel, where the preliminary meetings for the establishment of the *Irish People* were held in September and October,

1863, and where also at least one dinner was given at which Stephens and the chiefs of the movement here were present; and Cronin, of George-street, one of the bailmen for Edward Dufey, who was arrested in the company of Stephens, and who was not placed on his trial before the closing of the special commission only because his health was such that he was enabled to procure a medical certificate to the effect that his life would be endangered by removal from his lodging to the Court-house. A large number of those arrested were surprised in bed, others had only half dressed, while very few had breakfasted.

THE JAMAICA QUESTION.

A third series of papers relating to the disturbances in Jamaica was issued on Friday as a Blue-book. The principal paper is a despatch from Governor Eyre, explanatory of the manner in which Dr. Underhill's letter obtained publicity in the island. In reply to Mr. Cardwell's inquiry, Mr. Eyre says:—"I did not direct, authorise, or in any way sanction the publication of that letter, nor do I know in what manner, or through whom, it was made public." He then goes on to explain that for the purpose of obtaining information to enable him to prepare a report respecting the letter, he found it necessary to send copies of it to the custodes, to the ministers of religion of all denominations, and to several other persons from whom he thought he might get useful information. As Mr. Eyre says, considering the large number of persons to whom Dr. Underhill's letter thus became known, the majority of whom were not under the control of the Government, it is not surprising that it soon found its way into the public prints. Mr. Eyre flatly denies that the letter was printed in the *Gazette*. He contends that the publication of the letter was the necessary consequence of its having been sent to the Secretary of State, and he therefore holds that the whole responsibility rests upon the writer. The circumstances under which the letter became the cause of political agitation are to be found in the efforts of the Baptists to uphold the correctness of Dr. Underhill's statements, and those of their opponents to impugn them. In another despatch, Mr. Eyre points out his refusal to declare martial law in Kingston, as a proof of his unwillingness to resort to such a measure unless under the most imminent and pressing emergency. In acknowledging the arrival of Sir Henry Storks, Mr. Eyre expresses the confident belief that the inquiry now being instituted will show that the steps he took were just and necessary under the circumstances. Mr. Cardwell intimates that he cannot at present advise her Majesty to approve the Act to authorise corporal punishment in certain cases of larceny and other offences, and announces that the Act to empower justices of the peace to apprentice persons under the age of sixteen, convicted of petty larceny, shall be disallowed by Order in Council.

Postscript.

Wednesday, Feb. 21, 1866.

YESTERDAY'S PARLIAMENT.

Royal messages were sent to both Houses of Parliament last night, asking that fitting provision should be made for the Princess Helena on her marriage, and for Prince Alfred on his coming of age. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, in the House of Commons, fixed the consideration of these messages as the first business for Thursday evening.

Another interesting announcement was made to the House of Commons by the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER. It was to the effect that on Thursday evening he would ask the House in effect to vote a memorial of Lord Palmerston, to be erected in Westminster Abbey.

The House of Lords read the Art Bill a second time, had some conversation, of course, about the cattle plague, and adjourned at a quarter before six o'clock.

In answer to Mr. GILPIN, Mr. STANSFELD said it was not intended to introduce a bill to establish a bishopric at Lahore.

Sir ROBERT PEEL pressed the Chancellor of the Exchequer very hard in the House of Commons to say whether the charter of the Queen's University in Ireland had been altered so as to change the system of university education in that country. He also wished to know whether, if such a change was to be made, the House of Commons would have an opportunity of expressing an opinion on the matter before it was effected. After some time the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said that the charter had not been altered, but he gave no answer to the latter question.

The provision of dwellings for the poor is the object of a bill which Mr. McCULLAGH TORRENS obtained leave to introduce into the House of Commons. Mr. Torrens proposes to give power to inspectors under local authorities to visit blocks of houses where the poor live, and if they be unfit for living in to condemn them. The local authorities may then pull them down and build new ones. The Loan Commissioners may advance money for this purpose, which is to be paid by rates spread over a term of years. In a short discussion which followed the exposition Mr. Torrens gave of his proposals they were favourably commented upon.

Perhaps to politicians the most interesting subject of discussion in Parliament last evening was the proposal of Mr. CLAY to bring in a Reform Bill, in which Mr. Clay intended to propose to admit to the franchise all persons of full age and against whom there is no crime proved who can pass an examination in reading, writing, and the first four rules of arithmetic. Mr. Gregory, Lord Eloho, and Mr. Horsman endorsed the scheme. Mr. Horsman was very anxious to get information from the Government as to what they intended to do. The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not give him much satisfaction. The right hon. gentleman said he should be prepared in a few days to lay before the House the result of the inquiries of the Government, but he distinctly declined to say what would be the character of the measure. Leave was given to introduce Mr. Clay's bill.

Mr. BOUVERIE, who had given notice of his intention to move, in committee of the whole House, for leave to bring in a bill to repeal certain portions of the Act of Uniformity, said he would not stand long between the House and the Cattle Plague Bill. Last year an act was passed which repealed a clause of the Act of Uniformity referring to the clergy, and therefore, his bill would now be drawn so as to except from the operation of the act Fellows and heads of colleges, who alone were required to make the declaration of uniformity. He moved that the Speaker leave the chair.

Mr. WALPOLE would not oppose the motion, as it would be desirable they should see the bill, but he did not suppose that the alterations could recommend it more than the former bill, or that he could do otherwise than oppose it.

The House then went into Committee, and leave was given to bring in the bill, which was subsequently read a first time.

The House then went into Committee on Mr. Hunt's Cattle Plague Bill, which was discussed at great length. Several new clauses were added to the bill *pro forma*, the discussion to take place on recommendation. The bill then passed through committee, and was ordered to be reported.

The Telegraph Amendment Bill was read a second time.

Petitions were presented complaining of undue returns for Canterbury, Londonderry, Tipperary, the North Riding of Yorkshire, Barnstaple, and Portsmouth.

The House adjourned at one o'clock.

The Queen will hold during the ensuing season, at Buckingham Palace, five courts for the reception and presentation of a certain number of ladies and gentlemen. The Princess of Wales will, on behalf of her Majesty, hold two drawing-rooms at St. James's Palace. The Prince of Wales will also hold *levees* at St. James's Palace on her Majesty's behalf.

THE FENIANS.—Dublin, Tuesday Evening.—Sixteen additional arrests were made last night and to-day. M'Donnell, the Vice Head Centre, has been captured. Numerous arrests were made this morning in Limerick and four in Cork. Yesterday ten persons were taken at Athlone, and five at Trim. An order was received yesterday at Athlone to despatch without delay 200 infantry to Galway. The report that a large force with artillery was sent south on Sunday was erroneous.

Yesterday the 1st battalion of the Coldstream Guards, 800 strong, stationed at Chelsea Barracks, received orders to leave for Ireland. It is stated that 200 men of the Metropolitan Police force will accompany the Guards.

The Rev. P. Gurdon, vicar of Assington, Suffolk, has joined the communion of the Romish Church.

Disquieting war rumours are afloat in Vienna commercial circles in reference to the relations between Austria and Prussia.

The debate upon the draft of the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was resumed yesterday in the Lower House of the Hungarian Diet; and after a speech delivered by M. Deak, the Address was unanimously adopted.

MARK-LANE.—THIS DAY.

Fresh up to our market to-day the arrivals of home-grown wheat were but moderate. The condition of the produce was very middling, and all good and fine dry samples moved off steadily, at full quotations. Inferior qualities, however, were a dull inquiry, on former terms. With foreign wheat the market was moderately supplied. On the whole the trade was firm, and a fair amount of business was transacted, at full prices. Floating cargoes of grain were in fair demand, at late rates. The supply of barley on sale was very moderate. The trade, in consequence, ruled firm, and the value of good and fine malting produce had an upward tendency. The malt trade was firm, at fully late rates. The market was but moderately supplied with oats. The demand ruled far from active, at late rates. Both beans and peas met a slow sale, without leading to any change in prices from last week. There was a moderate demand for flour, at late prices.

ARRIVALS THIS WEEK.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Malt.	Oats.	Flour.
English and Scotch	2,050	1,120	1,970	2,380	880
Irish	—	—	—	—	—
Foreign	2,670	—	—	26,350	—

120 sks

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"John Ross," "E. O. Greening," "A Nonconformist."—Next week.

The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1866.

SUMMARY.

THE Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland anticipated the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act by ordering the wholesale arrest early on Saturday morning of persons suspected of complicity in the Fenian movement. A large number of individuals, chiefly Irish Americans, who were evidently unprepared for this act of legislative promptitude, were quietly captured in Dublin, including several officers in the United States' service. Every day since has added to the number of arrests in country towns, such as Limerick and Athlone, as well as Dublin, and not a few of the conspirators have fled to Liverpool and embarked for America. The Government have taken possession of the telegraph, sent detachments of military to the principal towns of Ireland, and are reinforcing the Irish army with 2,000 troops from England. Not the slightest fear of an outbreak appears to be entertained, the American plotters, except those in custody, have all sought safety in flight, and no such seizures of arms and ammunition have been made as indicate any serious danger of an organised rebellion. But there is no doubt that the Fenian delusion is wide-spread among the peasantry, who still confidently expect the advent of American armies and fleets to assist in establishing the Irish Republic.

The Cattle Plague returns, owing to the incompleteness of the information supplied, are now of little value, though it is believed that the number of cases has not greatly fluctuated during the last five weeks. This lack of information is the more to be regretted, as there is some reason to hope that Mr. Lowe's fears that we shall have to prepare for "a calamity beyond calculation," are not destined to be realised. From a careful examination of the statistics contained in the second Report of the Cattle Plague Commissioners, Dr. Farr arrives at the conclusion that the ratio of increase in the number of attacks is so rapidly diminishing, that the pestilence may have spent its force by the end of May. If there be any truth in this theory, legislation at the present time will do more to encourage needless slaughter than to stamp out the rinderpest.

The forthcoming Budget occasions almost as much vague speculation as the provisions of the Government Reform Bill. A few days ago the *Times* indulged in the pleasing vision of a surplus of some three millions, and proposed that Mr. Gladstone should make a serious attack on the national debt. But it seems that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, after the already announced modification of the wine duties and the abolition of the impost on timber, is not likely to have much to give away. To the expected surplus of two millions little will be added by a retrenchment of expenditure, if we may judge from the navy estimates, which show a decrease over last year of only about four thousand pounds.

The constitutional abolition of slavery in America was appropriately commemorated by a great public meeting in Exeter Hall last Thursday, when that interesting document, which has been ratified by twenty-eight out of the thirty-six States of the Union, was read to the crowded assembly who testified their interest by rising to their feet. The following, among other resolutions, was adopted:—"That this meeting reverently and gratefully acknowledges that, in

the good providence of God, the crime and withering curse of chattel slavery—first introduced by England into her transatlantic colonies, and then perpetuated by the fundamental constitution of the United States of America—has by the recent adoption of the constitutional amendment, been rendered illegal, and for ever hereafter prohibited throughout those United States. And this meeting tenders cordial congratulations to the friends of freedom in America upon the occasion of this gratifying and signal triumph of the cause of righteousness and humanity; recognising in this auspicious assimilation of the fundamental laws of the United States and of Great Britain a new and enduring bond of union between the two nations." The best way of giving practical effect to the spirit of this resolution is to assist the millions of freedmen of America in realising the blessings of freedom, and helping them through the present crisis. It was stated that the various societies formed in England to help the negroes in their transition from slavery to freedom have forwarded about 50,000 to America. Our columns for the last few weeks have shown that Congregationalists are taking a worthy share in a philanthropic enterprise which, as Dr. Holbrook, of New York, remarked on Thursday night, is peculiarly adapted to cement the bond of peace between England and the United States.

Austria and Prussia are again engaged in a sharp diplomatic warfare relative to the Northern Duchies, which has occasioned some disquietude on the Vienna Bourse. The Gastein Convention, as interpreted by the Kaiser, who allows the population of Holstein freely to express their sympathy for the Duke of Augustenburg, has given great umbrage to the Court of Berlin, which finds in such demonstrations a serious obstacle to its project of annexation. Prussia proposes, it is said, to purchase the rights of Austria in Holstein, after the precedent in the case of Lauenburg. Count Bismarck storms and threatens, but having on hand a Parliament more than ever intractable, his influence at Vienna is materially lessened.

The breach between President Johnson and the American Congress widens, but has not yet come to an open rupture. Bills have been passed by the Legislature for conferring the franchise on the negro population of the District of Columbia, changing the basis of representation in the recent Slave States, and enlarging the powers of the Freedmen's Bureau. Each of these measures will shortly come before Mr. Johnson, after having passed both Houses of Congress. He is expected to veto the first two and accept the last; and to help him through the crisis, a new party is being formed of moderate men from the Democratic and Republican ranks. Meanwhile the state of affairs in the South is less discouraging than was the case last year. The people have relaxed their antagonism to Federal rule, through their representatives, are at present excluded from Congress, and their material circumstances are improving. "I hear every day from fresh and trustworthy sources," writes the correspondent of the *Daily News*, "of the alacrity with which the negroes are entering into contracts, and the diligence and cheerfulness with which they are working. Their most hopeless and inveterate enemies confess that the result is astonishing them." This satisfactory change is owing greatly to the judicious action of the Freedmen's Bureaus, which are still happily sustained by President Johnson.

THE LAST MOVE AGAINST FENIANISM.

EIGHTEEN years have very nearly run their course since Lord John Russell, then at the head of a Whig Administration, called the House of Commons together on a Saturday, and carried through all its stages in that House, a Bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. Last Saturday the same noble lord, now elevated to the peerage, and Premier of a Liberal Government, achieved a similar task in the House of Lords. He had to choose then between submitting to Parliament a proposal which no responsible Minister of the Crown could make without shrinking reluctance, and the the imminent prospect of a sanguinary insurrection. We held him justified on that occasion, and, the alternative being now the same, we hold him justified on this. We take it for granted that the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland has come into possession of information which renders such a step imperative. If it be so—and we have no reason to doubt it—the remarks we felt it our duty to make then, we feel to be equally pertinent now—substituting, however, the term "Fenianism," for that of "Ireland." "Ireland," we said, using the word even then in a very limited sense, "is become a maniac to whom a strait-waistcoat is not so much justice as mercy. Her reason fails. She has got beyond the reach

of self-control. Mark the sure symptoms of her phrenzy. Her eyes are blood-shot, her speech loud, menacing, and incoherent—her gestures frantic. The wildest delusions have become to her realities—she has ceased to distinguish between friend and foe. She rushes hither and thither as if without a purpose—strikes indiscriminately at everybody and everything she encounters—doats on the most deformed exhibitions of our moral nature—hugs to her bosom the deadliest weapons as things to be loved for their own sake—chatters of dabbling her fingers in gore as the luxury she most longs for—has an unnatural passion for atrocities, the fouler, apparently, the better—and watches with a cunning which, nevertheless, cannot keep its own secret, for opportunities of mischief. For the time being, she has lost all moral sense—all consciousness of responsibility—and, where her one point of delusion is concerned, the power of appreciating the distinction between right and wrong. It is quite clear that, in this state, she cannot be suffered to go at large. To prevent her from perpetrating the fell deed which she meditates, if, correctly speaking, she can be said to meditate at all, is the dictate of compassion—and, inasmuch as [the Fenians] have grasped the sword, and are engaged in sharpening its edge, the resolution of Government to wrest it from them, if possible, before harm is done, is a wise one. The material, social, civil, and moral interests of Ireland will be affected far less injuriously by a temporary suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act than by insurrection. Restraint is better than bloodshed."

We have ventured to quote this passage from our own columns in 1848, for more than one reason. In the first place, it will bring vividly before our readers, the singular parallelism between that occasion and this. The main characteristics of that conspiracy are also those of the present—with this difference, however, that Fenianism has its centre on the other side of the Atlantic, and that it has hitherto obtained countenance from no class of society in Ireland having any serious stake in the maintenance of order. In the second place, we wish to show our readers that our views of armed insurrection, and of the fitting method of grappling with it, have always been the same, and are not influenced by any interest we may be supposed to take in the existing Government. The necessity for this kind of *coup de main* may not be so glaringly visible at this moment as it was in the exciting summer of eighteen years since. But, on the other hand, the danger to be confronted is more serious, because the most active cause of it is beyond reach. Men, money, and ammunition are being poured unintermittingly into Ireland from the United States, for the avowed purpose of detaching that island from the Queen's dominions, and the ordinary powers of law are inadequate to deal with the emergency. And in the last place, we are anxious to put the two periods in close juxtaposition, with a view of giving as much point and force as possible to the remarkably bold and able speech of Mr. Bright, and asking with him what measures worthy the name of statesmanship have been adopted during the long interval between the one insurrection and the other, calculated to drain off from Ireland that popular disaffection which offers to conspirators the raw material of rebellion.

We cordially thank the hon. member for Birmingham for what we must regard as the manliest, the noblest, and the most self-sacrificing effort which even he has ever made on behalf of a policy of justice. Standing forth as he did, on such an occasion, to claim for the Irish people something more than overwhelming physical force can secure for them, and, in the face of tremendous odds, calling for the application to Ireland of a higher order of statesmanship, than that merely of keeping down the discontented, he must have known that he set himself up as a mark for insolent abuse from both sides of the House. With a bravery rarely equalled and never surpassed, and a calm gravity which could not fail of making a deep impression, he assailed the practice common to the statesmen of the present day, of postponing to petty party ends the question which should have been paramount over their consciences—How is Ireland to be converted from a source of weakness into a source of strength to the British empire? That object, he said, and said rightly, had never evoked the statesmanship which its importance demands. That object he solemnly commended to the patriotism of the political chiefs, on which side soever of the House they might sit. No man but he, probably, could have taken so high a tone, or sustained it with so marvellous an exertion of intellectual and moral strength. Of course he was denounced, as usual, as the enemy of his country, as the instigator of illwill between class and class, as the calumniator of the Legislature, and as a grievous offender against the proprieties of time and place. But the hidden conscience of every man present must

have recognised the truth of what he said, and even they who rebuked him for uttering it at a wrong time, must have felt that the truth could never have been uttered with more effect than just then, when the House would most gladly have evaded it.

Mr. Bright has been charged with acting as a physician might do who, "in a case of life and death, should only lecture his agonised patient on the excesses of his youth." Mr. Bright never said a word to the patient. Called upon to concur in adopting strong measures of restraint, not for the first time, he addressed himself to the physicians whose miserable professional disputes one with another had prevented them from earnestly applying their skill to the case which for a long period they have had in hand, and to whose negligence the present unfavourable crisis might be ascribed. He offered no opposition to their proposal. He left it to be carried into effect on their responsibility. He did not delay the operation of their measure by a single moment. But he took the opportunity of sternly rebuking the unworthy course they had pursued, and of beseeching them to lay aside their ignoble antagonisms, and unite in a combined and serious effort to restore the patient to health. He could not have discharged a more painful or a more sacred obligation, and he could not have selected a more fitting time for doing it. The remedies he might have suggested would not, it is true, meet the immediate exigency—but the exigency would never have arisen had they been previously applied. Mr. Bright spoke for the future when he condemned the past. The acute form of the disease will soon be over, and the physicians will be very apt to recommence their strife with each other. Mr. Bright points to the contortions of the patient which render binding him imperative, and asks whether the highest skill can do no more than prescribe a strait-waistcoat when the dangerous fit supervenes. They are incensed at his fidelity, but they will probably lay to heart his rebuke, and better appreciate their great responsibility.

ANOTHER IMAGINARY PEEP INTO THE CABINET.

"It is said," we are significantly informed by the *Times* of yesterday, "that the Government have wisely, if tardily, resolved on reconsidering their policy with regard to Reform. . . . We are now told that simultaneously with the Franchise Bill a second Bill will be introduced dealing with the question of redistribution." Gratified as we shall be if the event should in due time prove the rumour to be correct, we still hold to the opinion that her Majesty's Ministers are able and willing to keep their own counsel. The forthcoming measure or measures, we feel satisfied, will be known only to the members of the Cabinet, and to the very few persons outside of it who are employed in drawing the Bill, or Bills, until the Chancellor of the Exchequer announces them to the country from his place in the House of Commons. "I remember," said Lord John Russell at the close of his reply to the Glasgow deputation who waited upon him on Monday last, "I remember saying many years ago in the House of Commons that they were like bees working in a glass hive. All their proceedings were exposed to public view; but I have heard that the bees adopted the precaution of filling up that part of the hive which was not dark with wax, so that their proceedings might not be seen—a very proper precaution. So I and my colleagues have determined to imitate the bees, and not to expose the honey till it is ready to be gathered." The noble Earl, who unquestionably spoke with knowledge on this point, spoke also, we do not doubt, with a strict regard to truth, and we must look upon all pretences to a possession of exclusive and authentic information on the matter, whether relating to the original intention, or to subsequent changes of purpose, of the Government, as unworthy of trust and as incompetent to furnish the public with anything better than speculative inferences and guesses which have in them more or less of probability.

We entirely concur, however, with our evening contemporary, the *Globe*, in the opinion that "the best course certainly to be taken 'out of doors' in the interim by every one who has anything to say, or thinks he has anything to say, on this question, is to bring it out through whatever channels may be open to him—*valeat quantum valebit*. In the multitude of counsels there is at least to be learned this wisdom—that the Reform question is not a question that can be *tranchée* by an absolute and arbitrary decision in the exclusive interest of any one section of politicians, or any one class of the community." We shall act upon this advice. We reserve until a future time any suggestions that have occurred to us on the subject of the franchise, and will confine our present remarks

to the question of a redistribution of seats. Some of our readers will be aware that we have broached the idea to which we are about to advert more than once before in this journal—the first time, we believe, several years ago.

One of the main difficulties in dealing with this branch of the Reform question is the fair and satisfactory adjustment of conflicting parties and interests in the creation of new constituencies. There are, it is true, some half-dozen places which will claim members on grounds of reason so strong that the Legislature cannot neglect them in any future re-allotment of seats in the House of Commons. Disfranchisement of obscure places does not provoke half the opposition which would be sure to be raised when the work of enfranchisement begins. No Government Bill can call into existence from forty to fifty new local voting bodies, without exposing themselves, justly or unjustly, to the suspicion of having been influenced in their selection by party expectations. The boroughs consider themselves aggrieved if more votes are given to the counties; the counties complain that, population for population, they are already outnumbered by borough members. The shipping interest, the colonial interest, the agricultural interest, the manufacturing interest, and all other great interests, struggle to obtain a more adequate representation, and between them they would wreck almost any measure which is designed to hold the balance fairly between them. Now, our suggestion, if adopted, would be free from this whole class of difficulties—would be obviously as fair to one political party as to another, and would meet the claims of varying interests in strict proportion to their relative importance.

We shall suppose that by the process of disfranchisement fifty seats are placed at the disposal of Parliament, and that ten of these must be allotted among some half-dozen centres of population that really have an irresistible claim to them. There remain forty seats to be dealt with—forty seats for which suitable constituencies have to be found. Those constituencies might, we think, be four—England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales—each to have such a proportionate share in the representation as population and property combined might determine. Every registered elector in each of the three kingdoms and in the Principality, besides the vote or votes which he may have for local representation, should also have one vote for a national representative, to be given at the same time, to the same officers, and under the same arrangements, as his local suffrage. Candidates for a national seat might be nominated under easy regulations, and, in order that the candidature might be *bona fide*, each candidate, on signifying his acceptance of the nomination, should be required to pay over to some one public officer (say 100*l.*), which might be applied towards defraying the additional expense which this arrangement would entail on every returning officer. Lists of nomination should be closed a short time before the first legal day of election, should be published in the *Gazette*, and should be sent to every returning officer, who, having received an answer to the question put to each voter at the poll, "Who do you vote for?" as it relates to the local candidate, would ask, "Which of the national candidates do you vote for?" and take his vote for any one of the nominated persons on the authorised list. The votes thus collected all over the kingdom might be forwarded to the office of the Registrar-General, and, of course, the forty national candidates who had the highest number of votes would be returned. Here, then, we have constituencies numerous enough, and as Conservative or as Liberal as the whole community. They could not be canvassed. They could not be bribed. They could be influenced by no local quarrels or whims. They would impose upon their representatives no obligation to look after local concerns, and they would be resolutely or rather, necessarily, uninfluenced by mere party ties. No men would be likely to be elected by them but such as have a considerable following, and every large public movement would be competent to choose its best man to represent it in the House of Commons. Vacancies by death or otherwise could not, it is true, be filled up until the next General Election, and it would be but prudent to provide that appointments made by the Crown to any of this class of members should not necessitate a new election.

Such is our suggestion. We may say a few words next week on the special advantages and disadvantages of the arrangement we recommend.

NOTES OF THE SESSION.

THE House of Commons has been a pattern of industry during the past week. Every day there has been a crowded attendance and animated debates. No such muster of country gentlemen

has been known since the squires forced through the House their Bill for turning county policemen into gamekeepers. The other day the *Spectator* furnished some elaborate statistics, which went to show that nearly 300 out of 656 members of the House of Commons are more or less closely identified with the great landowning caste of the country, exclusive of the scores of many-acred squires who appear with the plain "J.P., D.L.," in their respective county directories. But the Parliamentary events of the past week, better than any statistics, demonstrate the omnipotence, and legislative zeal withal, of the landlord interest in Parliament when their special privileges are involved. Their clamour obliged the Government to bring in a Bill for arresting the cattle plague—a Bill which provided that the disease should be stamped out by means of a rigid system of isolation, a prohibition of the movement of beasts, and a general slaughter of infected and suspected animals, leaving a certain discretion to local authorities—the expense to be paid for by a county and cattle-rate. But the squires were not satisfied. Mr. Ward Hunt's more stringent measure was menacingly placed alongside that of Sir George Grey, and night after night his indefatigable supporters have been in their places, vigilant, strong in lungs, and scarcely venturing even to eat a furtive dinner lest their object should be defeated. Their perseverance has been rewarded. The Government Bill has been emasculated, many of its clauses dropped; a majority of 83 has decided against Ministers in favour of the total prohibition of the removal of cattle by rail till March 25; Government have surrendered the cattle-rate "in deference to the feeling of the House"—that is the landlord interest—and Mr. Hunt's Bill, mainly confined to defining the duties of local authorities, is being licked into shape as a supplementary measure. That omnipotent gentleman, rather than Mr. Gladstone, has been leading the House during the consideration of the subject; and strong in the party at his back, and the presumption it inspired, he told Ministers at the outset that though he did not wish to make the cattle plague a party question, he should have no objection to see them displaced if a good and strong Government could be put in their place.

In argument, at least, the country party did not have it all their own way. On the second reading of the Bill, Mr. Bright manfully opposed the principle on which it was founded, contending that, if isolation were well established, indiscriminate slaughter would not be necessary. It was said that no more cattle have fallen victims to the present murrain than died from the lung disease in 1860, when no public compensation was talked of, and now that the farmers were to be reimbursed out of what was in fact public taxation, they would be less inclined than ever to establish insurance societies for their protection under such calamities. Mr. Lowe's specious reply brought Mr. J. S. Mill to the aid of the member for Birmingham. It was a maiden speech, delivered under special circumstances. As it was, the House felt that they had before them a man who, though disdaining all Parliamentary arts and traditions, would compel attention by the sheer force of his convictions and intellect. Mr. Mill, in a concise and logical argument, showed the injustice of compensating an entire class connected with the land for losses in which they only shared; and clearly pointed out the excessive amount of the compensation proposed by the Bill. The effect of his appeal was visible next day. When the Bill went into Committee, Mr. Gladstone confessed that both Mr. Bright and Mr. Mill had "hit a blot" on the measure, and proposed that the compensation should be reduced from two-thirds to one-half, which, after much grumbling from agricultural members, they accepted at Mr. Disraeli's suggestion. On Thursday, Mr. Mill re-asserted his position, that it would be a great hardship on the consumers if they were called on to pay a rate to compensate the producers for a loss which would ultimately be made good by the natural course of trade, and was replied to by Mr. Lowe, who contended that the claim to be exempted from taxation in this case was as absurd as for a man who was not mad to say that he ought not to be taxed for a lunatic asylum. Mr. Mill responded in an apter and a clenching illustration by asking his antagonist if there was any economical law by which the patients of a lunatic asylum were compensated for the expense of their maintenance in that asylum. Mr. Lowe wisely refrained from again breaking a lance with his cool and logical antagonist.

The Cattle Diseases Bill reached the Lords on Monday, and the standing orders were suspended to allow of its passage through the House at one sitting. Many peers complained of the hurry with which the measure was being pressed forward; others thought that some of the clauses were unnecessary; Lord Airie declared that the summary powers given under the Bill would

destroy all the animals which had recovered from the disease, and which were admitted to be the most valuable for future breeding; and in one case two Cabinet Ministers were found voting against their colleagues. Time, however, pressed, the measure was, it was pleaded, temporary, and before the sitting was at an end the Bill was read a third time and passed. But now that that point has been reached, and the country party has triumphed, distrust is setting in. To say nothing about the anxiety as to the supply of meat to large populations and the further rise in prices which must ensue, it is believed that some of the provisions of the Bill are unworkable, that in the hands of local authorities the "stamping out" of the disease will be so effectual that the new generation of cattle are in danger, that other animals, such as dogs, and the air itself, will spread the contagion spite of all restrictions; and that, though there are signs of a decline in the virulence of the plague, remedial measures such as that carried out by Mr. Worms will have little chance of being adopted.

Both Houses held a special sitting on Saturday to consider the grave proposal of the Government to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland till September next. The Commons met at 12 o'clock in full assembly. Sir George Grey made out a strong and conclusive case for his demand that constitutional guarantees should be for a while held in abeyance in Ireland. Notwithstanding that the law had sufficed to reach the principal Fenian conspirators, Irish-American agents were in large numbers overrunning the country, creating disaffection, encouraging rebellion, and tampering with the troops, and the Lord Lieutenant was powerless to cope with them without extraordinary powers. Mr. Disraeli acquiesced in the urgency of the case, though he threw out the foolish suggestion that the Government might have done all they required under an obsolete statute repealed last Session. Then Mr. Bright rose, and in a speech which the Chancellor of the Exchequer was fain to allow surpassed in power all his previous efforts, and derived additional impressiveness from the evident, undeniable, and transparent sincerity and solemnity of the speaker, expressed his profound humiliation at being again called upon to sanction an Irish Coercion Bill, and his distrust of statesmanship which could not grapple with Irish discontent by any other means. According to all accounts, the impression produced by this earnest and eloquent appeal has rarely been equalled in the House of Commons. Though Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Horsman, ludicrously incapable of appreciating the motives and aim of the orator, snarled at and denounced Mr. Bright, one Irish member after another thanked him for his noble appeal on behalf of their country, and Mr. Mill again opportunely backed up the member for Birmingham by expressing the hope that Parliament would not in future meet every proposal for the benefit of Ireland by the mere expression of good intentions and an eternal *non possumus*. Mr. Gladstone ingeniously argued that it was not against Ireland that they were taking coercive measures, but against a conspiracy which all her representatives repudiated, but the Government would be ready at the proper time to apply itself to measures for improving the condition of that country. The Bill passed through all its stages with only six dissentients.

It was then carried up to the Lords, moved by Earl Russell in a speech which went over the same ground as was traversed by Sir George Grey in the other House, and supported by Lord Derby, who threw upon the Government the responsibility of the measure. Having passed through all its stages, the Bill was despatched by special train to Osborne to receive the royal assent, but owing to sundry delays did not come back again with the Queen's signature till past midnight. At this unaccustomed hour on Sunday morning the Royal Commissioners, in presence of the Speaker and such members of the House of Commons as could be gathered together, formally declared her Majesty's consent to the Habeas Corpus (Ireland) Suspension Bill. Such an example of rapid legislation has not occurred during the present century.

THE HUSBAND AT HOME.

TREMBLING comes over us as, impelled by a rash and, we may almost say, desperate resolution for which we are at a loss to account, we take pen in hand to note down some thoughts that have occurred to us on this subject. We see what will be the upshot of it as clearly as we do the words we put on paper—which, however, we are bound to confess, would not, in the case of every writer, be an apt comparison—we are just putting our head into a hornet's nest. No matter how daintily we treat the topic—no matter how disinterested, and considerate, and wise may be our motives—no matter how much

needed and weighty may be our counsels—we are infallibly in for a gusty time of it. No man can set foot within that charmed circle wherein wedded life stores up its secrets, without being pitilessly pelted as a trespasser, and, on his retreat, being laughed at as heartily by onlookers as the unfortunate dog who snapped at hot pudding. Our eyes are wide open to the fate we are about to incur. We wince already in anticipation. Both our ears are hot and red, too feelingly reminding us that "coming events cast their shadows before." And yet the impulse is strong upon us, and our disposition to resist it feeble. We shut our eyes and make a dash over the border, haunted, meanwhile, by the poet's rebuke—

And fools rush in where angels fear to tread.

"The husband at home." A word or two, first of all, in a preliminary sort of way—half explanatory, half apologetical. We wish to put our readers, at starting, on their guard against giving to the phrase we have placed at the head of our observations too wide and general a meaning. Where should a husband be, it may be asked, but at home? Where should he wish to be, where is he bound to be, but just there? If his home have not the most powerful of attractions for him—if it be not his centre of gravitation, the spot towards which his heart evermore turns as the sunflower to the sun; if his choicest treasures be not there; if his highest, purest, most satisfying, most exquisite enjoyment be not found there; if his sense of obligation, his scope for usefulness, his sphere of active self-devotion, have not their first and most vital connection with his home, what is he worth? Well, we are quite ready to echo the question. We shall not, wittingly at least, drop a word of disparagement which might tend to make him value it less than he should do. Home, of all places in the world, ought to be deepest in a husband's heart. He is much to be pitied, or blamed, or both, if it be not. The case we are going to discuss, however, is not a case of the affections. In one sense, and that the most important, the husband ought always to be "at home" with his wife and family. He should find his rest there. His preference should incline thither, and his aims and motives should steadily look that way. But, in another sense, a husband at home is very apt to be where his presence could be very conveniently, and, little as he may be able to conceive the idea, very willingly spared. The murder is out—we have now only to make the best of it.

Very hard is the lot of that married man who has nothing particular to do—who is of no profession—has no settled business—no stated kind, nor fixed hours of employment. Time hangs heavy on his hands, and if, as in the case we are supposing, he is secured by internal and external influences from trying to get rid of it in dissipation, he most likely fidgets the day through within the precincts of home. His, unquestionably, is a very unenviable lot—so, sooth to say, is that of his family. Who cannot at once call up an illustration to his mind's eye? A pottering husband who, having nothing better to do, fusses himself about the domestic arrangements, meddles with a score of duties which he does not understand, irritates everybody by giving everybody misplaced or ill-timed directions, breaks the continuity of servants' work by calling off one and another to episodic tasks, criticises everything although profoundly ignorant of the subject on which he is talking, fumes at and frets over all manner of purely imaginary evils, is sure to be just where, for the time being, he should not be, and, in a word, without intending it, generally without being conscious of it, worries the whole circle of which he is master. If a man has no calling, then, for the sake of his own and his family's peace, let him make one. If the bulk of his time must be spent under his own roof-tree, by all means let him select some object of pursuit that will separate him from what we may call the domesticities during a considerable portion of the day. Let him take to floriculture, or, if he prefer it, the study of Hebrew roots; let him turn a lathe, or write an epic; let him work as a photographer, or take to a course of reading—anything, anything not positively injurious to himself or others, rather than thrust his unwelcome presence into the sphere which of right belongs to woman, and in which, whatever amiable things are said to him, he is felt to be very needlessly in the way.

This, however, is an extreme example. Nevertheless, one may detect in it certain points well worthy of a general study. The best place on earth for a man, the fittest, the most loved and full of love, needs to be interchanged, not merely now and then, but often and regularly, with scenes less attractive. The nest must be left for the open field. We remember a boy whose notion of the highest happiness was that he might never be without something good

to eat, and might always be able to eat it. He had not then found out that the pleasures we most covet soon cease to be pleasures when they are invariably of the same kind. The body when fed perpetually on the same sort of food becomes unable after awhile to derive sustenance from it. For a man's own sake, and that he may keep up his interest in home, and nourish the life of his affections, it would be well for him to avail himself of the source of his domestic bliss rather at measured intervals than continuously. Rest is delicious, but only in alternation with labour. Home is home, but more than half the zest with which its delights are appreciated is lost when they are not realised in contrast with something that differs from them. Ours is a complex nature, and craves for its full development a large variety of physical, mental, and moral sustenance.

It may chance, however, that a man's occupation is one that confines him almost exclusively to his own house. The shop, the office, the studio, or what not, may necessitate his being uninterruptedly in closest contiguity with the other members of his household. Be it so! Neither he nor they will have reason to be dissatisfied so long as he and they move in their respective spheres. But a husband's sphere is not everywhere even in his own house. There is a whole world of things in regard to which the exercise of his authority would be out of place, and his very presence would be gladly dispensed with even by those who love him best. The details of domestic management it is the wife's prerogative to order, and the less there is of interference with them by masculine authority, the more easily, neatly and noiselessly, for the most part, they are adjusted. Husbands at home really seem sometimes to forget that there is anybody but themselves in the like case. Everything must be made to minister to them. Their very whims must be held sacred—their personal convenience accommodated at any expense to the convenience of others. Orderly habits are to be set aside when they list. Ordinary rules go for nothing against their will. The whole machinery of home life is thrown out of gear for the merest trifles. The man does not suspect it, perhaps, but he is as truly, and as unwelcome, an intruder, as a cow in a flower-garden. What is sport to him is death to others. He tramples down, without heeding what he is about, all manner of delicate and beautiful objects which have been carefully tended, and bruises groups of tender susceptibilities the existence of which has escaped his notice. Of course he is forgiven, and love makes a thousand ingenious excuses for him. But does he imagine that he can often desecrate by his waywardness the domesticities with which woman's tastes and preferences, and even affections, are always more or less closely associated, and yet suffer no loss?

It is a sad thing for a husband by his heedless selfishness so to harass, irritate, and mortify the members of his family circle that his absence from home comes to be felt as a sensible relief. And this will sometimes be the case even when he is not personally deficient in kind-heartedness. No one can bear to be everlastingly fidgeted. No one with an atom of self-respect can brook being incessantly interfered with in the regular discharge of daily duty. No one cares to be ever and anon balked in purpose and expectation, or to have the line of life jerked hither and thither at the fancy of a restless spirit. They who suffer much from this kind of thing, suffer all the more in proportion to their fondness for the individuals who inconsiderably inflict the wrong. They inwardly grieve because, in spite of all their efforts to resist it, their respect and affection gradually ebb to a low level, because (to change the figure) the bloom of their happiness is being constantly rubbed off. But we are getting too sentimental. Husbands who are much at home may, however, take the hint, and if they must be fussy, be fussy elsewhere. It is cruel to worry those who do not like to complain, and who cannot run away.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

(Continued from Page 149.)

SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT IN IRELAND.

The House met at twelve o'clock on Saturday, and the attendance of members was very crowded.

Sir G. GREY, pursuant to notice, asked leave to bring in a bill to suspend for a limited period the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. He allowed that this was a strong and extraordinary measure, but assured the House that it would not have been asked for had not the ordinary powers of the law been found insufficient to check the widespread and the wicked Fenian conspiracy. Sir George traced the history of Fenianism in Ireland up to the cessation of the American war, when it assumed a more active form owing to the stimulus which it received from the American organisation. He read extracts from articles in the *Irish People*, and from documents seized by the

police, to show that the object was to wrest Ireland from the British Crown, and that men, arms, and money were to be supplied from America for this purpose. The Government had hoped that the recent trials would have broken up the conspiracy, but the escape of Stephens had given fresh energy to it. He read reports from the Irish Executive stating that depôts and manufactures of arms had been discovered in various parts, and that a large number of Irish-American emissaries were known to be dispersed throughout the country swearing in members, endeavouring to seduce the troops from their allegiance, and holding out false hopes of material assistance from the United States' Government. On behalf of that Government he was bound to say that this movement had received no countenance, not even a shadow of support, from them. (Hear, hear.) He knew that the hopes of these misguided men were altogether illusory. The very first moment an insurrection arose, however disastrous the first consequences might be, the power and strength of this country must soon absolutely crush it. (Hear, hear.) Though in a few individual cases soldiers had been led astray, the Government had the fullest confidence in the loyalty of the army as a whole, and, with regard to the American Government, this conspiracy had not received the slightest shadow of support from them. Many of these emissaries had been arrested from time to time, but they were sufficiently wary not to carry evidence about with them which would justify the authorities in putting them on their trial. He described the steps which had been taken by the Government in despatching reinforcements and spreading detachments throughout the country, and read letters from the Lord-Lieutenant to show that he had for some weeks contemplated the necessity of this measure. It was only, however, on Thursday that Lord Wodehouse had called on the Cabinet to introduce the bill at once, stating that he could not be responsible for the safety of Ireland without these extraordinary powers. He explained that the duration of the bill was limited to the 1st of September of this year, and impressed on the House the necessity of passing the bill without a day's delay.

Mr. DISRAELI, after pointing out to the Government that they had allowed a clause in the Act of the 50th George III. to be repealed last year which would have enabled them to deal summarily with these emissaries, admitted that Sir G. Grey's statement was authentic, and that it justified the House in assenting to this partial suspension of the Constitution. While reserving the right of inquiring at some future time how far the conduct of the Government had contributed to bring about this critical state of things in Ireland, he gave a complete support to the introduction of the bill.

Mr. BRIGHT expressed the shame and humiliation which he felt at being called on for a second time in a Parliamentary career of twenty-two years to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. He asserted that Ireland was in a state of chronic agitation, and that if to-morrow the majority of the people of Ireland had their will, they would, had they power to do so, unmoor that island from its fastenings in the deep, and would moor it at least 2,000 miles to the west of its present position. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) The Irish were naturally a virtuous people, and it might be said with perfect truth that there was no man who, whatever he may be at home, was so industrious when he emigrated to other lands as the Irishman. (Hear, hear.) He might have said also that no people possessed a temperament so cheerful and contented as that of the Irish people—that no man was more grateful for kindness shown him than an Irishman, and that no race were influenced to a greater degree by the sentiment of veneration than the people of Ireland. And yet, after centuries of English government, after sixty years of government by the Imperial Parliament, they found that people of Ireland engaged in a conspiracy to overthrow the authority of the Crown of Great Britain, and to forcibly separate their country from its connexion with England. The causes of this he traced to the unjust legislation of the Imperial Parliament, which, since the Union, had passed many Coercion Bills, but only three really good measures for Ireland—the Catholic Emancipation Act, under the danger of civil war; the Poor Relief Act, and the Encumbered Estates Act, under the pressure of a terrible famine. That there might have been improved administration he admitted, but he denied that there had been any statesmanship shown in dealing with the Irish question, and he doubted whether any of the Ministers in his time had comprehended it. Coercion Bills in abundance, Arms Bills session after session—lamentations like that of the right hon. gentleman the member for Buckinghamshire that day, that the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act to a certain extent was not made perpetual by a clause which he regretted was repealed—Acts for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, like that which they were now discussing—all these there had been; but there had been no statesmanship. (Hear, hear.) He attributed this in a great measure to the system of parties, which sunk our Ministers into merely respectable and honourable administrators.

I should like to know, and I put the question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer,—he is the only man in the present Government whom I have heard of late years who has spoken as if he comprehended this question, and he made a speech in the last session of Parliament which was not without its influence both in England and in Ireland.—(Hear, hear.)—I should like to ask him whether this Irish question is above the stature of himself and his colleagues, because, if it be, then they should come down from the places they occupy and try to learn the art of legislation and government before they practise it. (Hear, and a laugh.) I believe myself that if we can

divest ourselves of the feelings engendered by party strife we might come to some better result. Take the Chancellor of the Exchequer! Is there in the world in any legislative assembly a man as the world judges of more transcendent capacity—I say even of a more honest wish to do good to the country in which he occupies so conspicuous a place? (Cheers.) Take the right hon. gentleman opposite, the leader of the Opposition! Is there in any legislative assembly in the world at this moment a man leading an Opposition of more genius for his position, who has given proofs in every way but one in which proof can be given that he is competent to the highest duties of the highest offices of the State? (Cheers.) Well, but these men—great men whom we who sit on this side, and you who sit on that side to a large extent admire and follow—they fight for office, and the result is that they sit alternately one on this side and another on that. But suppose it were possible for these men, with their intellect and far-reaching vision, to examine this question thoroughly, and to say for once, "Whether this leads to office, or to the miserable notoriety that men call fame that springs from office, or not, we will, if it be possible, act with loyalty to the Sovereign and justice to the people, and, if it be possible, we will make Ireland a strength and not a weakness to the British Crown." (Cheers.) It is on account of this fighting for party, and for the gains which party gives, that there is so little result from the great intellects of such men as these. Like the captive Samson of old, they are condemned

To grind in brazen fetters under task
With this Heaven-gifted strength,

and the country and the world gain little by those faculties which God has given them for the blessing of the world. (Cheers.)

He pointed out that the fact of Fenianism having to some extent a foreign origin aggravated the difficulty, and asked why Englishmen and Scotchmen, when they emigrated, did not, like Irishmen, carry with them an inveterate hatred to the Government and institutions of the land of their birth? He declared that it was not in human nature to live content under such institutions as existed in Ireland, and when this insurrection was suppressed there would still remain the seeds of another crop of disaffection. He believed there was a mode of making Ireland loyal, and that the Parliament of England, having abolished the Parliament of Ireland, was doubly bound to examine what that mode was, and if it could discover it, to adopt it.

I say that the Minister who claims office in this country merely that he may carry on the dull routine of administration, and who dares not grapple with this question, who dares not go into Opposition, who dares not come upon these benches, or who consents to sit anywhere except where he can tell his mind freely to the House and the country—that Minister may have a high official position, but he is not a statesman, or worthy of the name. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I shall not oppose the proposition of the right hon. gentleman. The circumstances are such—I presume they are such—that the course which is about to be pursued is, perhaps, the only merciful course for Ireland. (Hear, hear.) But I suppose it is not the intention of the Government, in the case of persons who are arrested and against whom any just complaint can be made, to do anything more than that which the ordinary law permits, and that if men are brought to trial they will be brought to trial with all the fairness and all the advantages which the ordinary course of law gives. (Hear, hear.) I would not say what is most unjust to the gentlemen on that (the Treasury) bench. I believe they are as honestly disposed to do right in these matters as I am, and as I ever have been. I implore them, if they can, to shake off the trammels of doubt and fear with regard to this question, and to say something that will be soothing to Ireland, and that may give it hope. (Hear, hear.) I voted the other night with the hon. member for Tralee (The O'Donoghue). We were in a very small minority. (Hear, hear.) Yes, I have often been in small minorities. ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) That hon. gentleman would have been content with a word of kindness and of sympathy, not for conspiracy, but for the people of Ireland. (Hear, hear.) That word was not inserted in the Queen's Speech. To-day the Home Secretary has made a speech urging the House to the course which I presume is about to be pursued. He did not in that speech utter one single sentence with regard to a question that lies behind, and is greater and deeper than the question which he discussed. I hope, Sir, that if the Ministry feel themselves bound to take this course—to suspend the common right to personal freedom of a whole nation—at least they will not allow this debate to close without giving to us and the nation some hope that before long measures will be considered and will be introduced which may tend to create the same loyalty in Ireland as exists in Great Britain. (Hear, hear.) If the monarch of this country, if every man outside the walls of this House who has the interests of the whole empire at heart, could speak here, would they not say to this assembly, "Let not one day elapse, let not another session pass until you have done something to wipe out this blot, for blot it is, upon the reign of the Queen, and to efface this scandal, for scandal it is, to the civilisation and the justice of the people of England?" (Cheers.)

Mr. ROEBUCK and Mr. HORSMAN rose together, and there were loud and repeated calls for both one and the other, but the latter gave way, and

Mr. ROEBUCK asked what was the object of the speech just made. It was meant for mere mischief. (Cheers.) He admitted that there had been centuries of misrule in Ireland, but there had been for the last thirty years great and careful consideration bestowed by this House upon her interests.—(cheers)—and no appeal had been made to them in support of measures tending to her real welfare to which they had not listened. (Cheers.) The hon. member had not put his finger on a single grievance. Irishmen had enjoyed the same personal liberty as Englishmen, property was effectually protected, and they had no grievances to complain of which were not common to the rest of the empire. There was no restraint placed upon Irishmen which was not also imposed upon

Englishmen. But then the great grievance of Ireland was said to be the Irish Church Establishment.

Now, I should like to know from the hon. member for Birmingham whether he does not feel the maintenance of an Established Church here to be as great a grievance to himself and those who share his religious views as the Irish Church is to the Irish Roman Catholics? (Mr. Bright: Not at all.) Why not? The Dissenters in England claim to be more than half the population of the country. The endowments of the Irish Church were originally Roman Catholic endowments; so were the endowments of the Church of England. What, then, is the difference between the two Establishments?

The O'Donoghue came down to that House, and said he did not blame the Fenians; the Irish Liberals indulged in one eternal whine about the miseries of their country. What did they want? (Cries of "Tenant right.") Why should they not have tenant right in England? (Hear, hear.) Why was it that an Irish landed proprietor should be placed upon a different footing from the same class of men in this country? (Hear, hear.) Nobody had given an answer to that question. He attributed much of the present discontent to the Roman Catholic priesthood, who for years had taught the people to hate English rule, but who, now that they found themselves threatened by this conspiracy, had become wondrous loyal, and ridiculed the sentiment of nationality, showing that every great empire in the world's history had been made up of different nationalities. He called on Mr. Bright and those who thought with him, instead of vague declamations, and bidding those who sat on the Treasury benches to descend from their high places, to come forward with a programme of the measures which they thought ought to be carried. Let Irishmen learn, as they ought to learn, through their educated classes, in what their happiness really consists, and how much it is promoted by the union with England. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. HORSMAN characterised Mr. Bright's speech as an inopportune interposition at a critical moment of the address he meant to make in the Irish debate of last week; he did not know whether that gentleman's sympathies were with the Government or the Fenians.

He did not say that he was in favour of the conspiracy; but he did take very good care to say that there was a great deal to justify it. (Hear.) "I appeal," he said, "to my previous speeches on Ireland, many of which you have heard. I don't justify insurrection, but the people of Ireland are insulted by a dominant Church. (Hear, hear.) I don't tell you that rebellion is justifiable, but the country is cursed by cruel and rapacious landlords." (Cheers.)

Mr. BRIGHT: I beg to say there is not a shadow of foundation for what the hon. gentleman has stated in the last two or three sentences. I presume he is delivering a speech he had prepared for another occasion. (A laugh.)

Mr. HORSMAN: I appeal to the House whether the hon. gentleman did not more than once appeal to previous speeches which he had made in this House.—(Hear, hear)—and it was upon them that he founded his appeal to the Irish members. Well, but, at any rate, the hon. gentleman now says he will give the Government the benefit of his support. He said he should support them on the present occasion.

Mr. BRIGHT: No.

Mr. HORSMAN: Then, I am to take it he did not say he would support the Government. (Hear, hear.) I don't know whether they may place any value on the prospect of his support; but of this I am quite certain—that the Fenian conspirators will place great value on his speech. (Loud cheers.)

He did not deny the hon. member's patriotism, but it was a patriotism of that kind which was described by Canning in the *Anti-Jacobin*. He was one of those

"Patriots of the world alone,
And friends of every country but their own."

(Cheers.) He denied Mr. Bright's allegations as to the state of Ireland. Twenty-two years ago they constantly heard of bloodshed, outrage, and murder. The Royal Speeches had constantly to refer to such outrages. Every Minister brought in a Coercion Bill or an Army Act. The debates on Irish affairs took up more time than all the other affairs of the empire together. The Irish members sat aloof, as if there was still an imaginary channel between them and the Scotch and English members, and they thought they were disliked by the House. There was then an army in Ireland of 60,000, 80,000, or 100,000 men; and Ireland was at that time a constant source of menace and expense. Was not this changed now? How often did we now hear of murders in Ireland? Now the army in Ireland was small, and did not come into collision with the people. Many beneficial measures had passed, but he did not know that those who struggled for them received any great assistance from the member for Birmingham. On some occasions he was negligent, on others obstructive. He believed, however, that the Irish priesthood deserved the veneration of their flocks.

I have always been, with many friends of mine, in favour of that State provision; but I have always found when the member for Birmingham was present on these occasions he has gone into the lobby with the supporters of the no Popery cry, and voted on the side of illiberality and intolerance. (Cheers and "No.") I state positively what I know as a fact, and I challenge the hon. gentleman to refute it. Whenever he has been able to assist an Irish complaint, he has always been in his place—whenever he could assist in his agitation he has always assisted it; but on no occasion for twenty years has he originated any proposal for the improvement of Ireland. (Cheers.)

Mr. DILLON thought that Mr. Bright's speech must be regarded as one of the truest, noblest, and most generous utterances it had ever been his fortune to listen to. (Hear, hear.) As an avowed opponent of Fenianism, he expressed his doubt of its extent and

powers of mischief; but whatever such powers it possessed arose from the disaffection springing out of the misgovernment of Ireland. The laws passed by the Imperial Parliament had been made in the interest of a class and against that of the people. (Ories of "No, no," and cheers.) He put it to the candour of every hon. gentleman present whether the ecclesiastical institutions of Ireland would not in any other country under the sun be considered to be sufficient justification, not merely of discontent, but of insurrection? He should oppose the bill.

Mr. J. S. MILL agreed with Mr. Bright that this was an occasion for shame and humiliation; and while admitting that England had repented of the national sin of injustice to Ireland, urged that she had not gone further in the change than benevolent good intentions. It might be difficult to compare the position of England towards Ireland, but some comparison might be drawn from the practice of flogging.

Flogging in some few cases might be regarded as a necessary abomination, because there were some men and boys whom long persistence in evil had so brutalised and perverted that no other punishment could possibly affect them; but any man in authority—the captain of a ship or the commander of a regiment, for instance, who relied solely upon flogging for the maintenance of discipline—that man deserved flogging as much or more than any of those who were subjected to that punishment by his orders. (Laughter, and cries of "Question, question!") He believed that her Majesty's Government were placed in such a position that the concurrence of the House to the course which they now advocated was absolutely necessary. (Hear, hear.) He did not believe that her Majesty's Government were responsible for the state of things which now existed; they could not be made responsible for the misdeeds and the neglect of centuries. (Hear, hear.) He did not agree with his hon. friend the member for Birmingham in thinking that her Majesty's Ministers, if they could not devise some remedy for the evils of Ireland, were bound to leave their seats on the Treasury bench and give place to others. The Government had to deal with things as they were, and not with things as they might wish them to be. He was not going to suggest any suspicion that the power granted to the Government would be employed for purposes of terror. He knew there would be nothing of the kind. He was not at all afraid that the transactions which had taken place in Jamaica would be repeated in Ireland. The fountain of his indignation had been so drained by the recent events in that unfortunate island that he had none left for anything else. (Loud cries of "Question," and "Divide.") When this was done, however, he hoped that we should not go to sleep for fifty years, and that we should not again meet every proposal for the benefit of Ireland with that eternal "Non possumus" which, translated into English, meant, "We don't do it in England."

After observations from Mr. MOORE and Mr. CONOLLY,

Sir J. GRAY characterised Mr. Roebuck's speech as one favourable to Fenianism, an organisation with which he had no sympathy, banded as it was against all order, property, and life in Ireland, and denounced as it was by the whole Roman Catholic clergy, by whose efforts the peace of that country had been preserved. Mr. Roebuck said the Irish people had nothing to complain of. Was it nothing that the whole of the ecclesiastical grants were given to a small minority of the people? And could they point to a single thing for many years past which had been done for Ireland, ruled as she was by unsympathising strangers living in another land? (Ories of "No, no.")

The O'DONOGHUE thanked Mr. Bright for his speech. What he asked for Ireland, he asked without reference to anything that the Fenians might think; but he was sure that if what he asked was obtained they would be satisfied. If the House was resolved to support the Government in their intention of giving despotic power to the bewildered and nervous inmates of Dublin Castle, nothing he could do would prevent it; but he protested against the adoption of coercion as the only efficient means of meeting the emergency, and said it was his duty as a representative Irishman to vote against the proposed measure.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, referring to Mr. Disraeli's strictures on the Government in allowing an act of Geo. III. to be repealed which would have enabled persons like the Fenian emissaries to be arrested, pointed out that that act could not have been so applied, and no person could have been more than momentarily detained under its provisions. He could hardly recollect an occasion when his hon. friend, the member for Birmingham, had put in exercise his extraordinary power with greater force than that evening. It derived additional impressiveness from the evident, undeniable, and transparent sincerity and solemnity of the speaker. (Hear, hear.) But he had listened to it with regret and pain. It contained many truths, but many propositions of which it might be said that some were not true, that many were open to question, and that most were out of place on the present occasion. (Hear, hear.) It was a fallacy to say that the proceedings in which they were now engaged was an appeal to a simply or substantially English Parliament to apply the hand of force to Ireland. He declined to recognise the voice of the people of Ireland, and to accept any interpretation of the real feelings and opinions of that people, other than that which was conveyed through the mouths of their representatives, lawfully chosen and sitting there. (Hear, hear.) None of them had raised their voice in defence of Fenianism, but the House was unanimous in condemnation of it. He expressed his gratitude to the Opposition for the manner in which they had signified by their support their belief that the Government had not taken lightly and without the strongest reasons so exceptional a course as that which was proposed by the bill. Mr. Bright asked the Government for expres-

sions of sympathy for Ireland, and a declaration of the intention of the Government to apply itself to the consideration of measures for the improvement of the condition of that country. Well, he could say that neither his colleagues nor himself had been nor would be slow in giving utterance to those sentiments at the proper time. But his hon. friend said they had no statesmanship.

It may be that the depressing and the bewildering influence of the masses of detail with which all public life is overlaid at this hour may have had upon us, and others more worthy, the effect of obscuring our view and lowering our aims as to the highest objects of public policy; but on this day we have one, and only one, duty to perform, an irksome, a painful, a grievous duty, and yet one of solemn and primary obligation. However contracted be the scale of statesmanship in this country, at least let us see that we retain a sensitive perception of its elementary functions, and that we know, as no man can reach the higher rounds of the ladder without treading on the lower, so no man is fit to deal with great political problems unless he sets before his eyes, and never consents to turn away his vision for one moment from, the primary duty of maintaining in an orderly and peaceful country the blessings of peace and order, and of defending the loyal and well-disposed masses of the community against those who may have been unhappily misled. This is the duty of to-day, and to that duty for the day we confine ourselves.

There were signs of progress even in connection with the Fenian movement.

Two generations ago a widespread rebellion in Ireland would have plunged whole provinces or extended districts in blood. In 1822, when the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, there was a spirit of disaffection, powerful not in numbers only, but in other elements of strength, and that were not of foreign introduction. In 1848 this House divided upon the proposal to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and that division was preceded by a deliberation totally different in tone, I rejoice to say, from that of to-day. No member has to-day said that he thought he best discharged his duty to the Queen by endeavouring to detach from her dominions those portions of them which it was not convenient for her to occupy and to rule. Nor are we likely, I think, to see the proceedings of this day followed up, as were those of 1848, by a member rising, and amid the suppressed indignation of the House—which then, perhaps, more than upon any historical occasion, testified its inestimable regard for the great principle of liberty of speech—stating that when he quitted the House he would go to Ireland for the purpose of offering armed resistance to the law. Some progress, at least, has been made towards unity of sentiment, and we have in that unity of sentiment additional testimony, if additional testimony were needed, to the assertion that was authoritatively made in the Speech from the Throne, and was not contradicted, I think, in this House, with respect to that remarkable union of sentiment in Ireland which encourages us to go fearlessly forward with those measures which are necessary for the maintenance of authority and law; for the purpose of preventing, if it may be, and at any rate limiting and reducing to its minimum, the frightful mischief of the outbreak of insurrection; for the purpose of defending the loyal masses of the people, of whatever class and religion; for the purpose of vindicating the name and fame of this country; and for the purpose, last of all, of defending also the misguided and misled agents of these frightful evils against themselves. (Great cheering.)

When the question that leave be given to bring in the bill was put, there were two cries of "No." The Speaker declared, "The ayes have it"; the O'Donoghue challenged the Speaker's decision by saying, "The noes have it"; and thereupon, notwithstanding numerous cries of "Agree," a division took place with the following result:—

Ayes	...	...	...	...	364
Noes	...	...	...	...	6
Majority	...	...	...	...	—358

The bill was then brought up and read a first and second time, passed through committee, read a third time, and passed.

The Cattle Diseases Bill as amended was considered, read a third time and passed, and Mr. Hunt's Cattle Plague Bill passed *pro forma*.

Petitions were presented against the returns at the late elections for the boroughs of Dover, Lichfield, and Nottingham.

The House then adjourned until eleven o'clock, when the Speaker again took the chair, and at half-past twelve was summoned to the House of Peers to hear the Royal Assent given to the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill.

THE DWELLINGS OF THE POOR.

On Monday (at the time of private business), a discussion arose on the Hampstead, Highgate, and Charing-cross Railway Bill, which was opposed by Mr. T. HUGHES, on the ground that no kind of compensation was provided for the large number of the working classes whom it ousted from their dwellings. In the end the bill was allowed to be read a second time, Mr. Hughes accepting a suggestion of Colonel Wilson Patten that he should move a standing order on the subject of compensation which would apply to all metropolitan railway bills.

RAILWAY DEBENTURES.

In answer to Mr. HANKEY, Mr. M. GIBSON said that a measure was in preparation for giving to the public security that the statutory debentures issued by railway companies should not exceed the limit of their power under their acts.

THE NATIONAL GALLERY.

In answer to Lord COURTENAY, the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said that Mr. Boxall, R.A., had been appointed director of the National Gallery, and his relations with the Treasury were the same as those of his predecessors. The only desire of the Government was to appoint the most efficient man, and no

precedent would be established for the selection of a painter or artist.

IRELAND AND THE CATTLE PLAGUE.

In answer to Mr. GREGORY, the ATTORNEY-GENERAL for Ireland said a bill relating to the cattle plague as regarded Ireland had been prepared and was under consideration by the authorities in that country.

THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT.

Mr. MAINWARING asked why, when moments were so precious, her Majesty was not in London to give the Royal Assent to the bill for Suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that it was only on Friday that the Cabinet considered and decided on suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, and her Majesty happening to be at Osborne, it was necessary to send the bill thither to receive the Royal Assent.

In answer to Mr. Darby Griffith, Sir G. GREY said that there was no law, Parliamentary or otherwise, which prevented the House sitting on a Sunday if any emergency required it.

THE CATTLE PLAGUE.

The House went into committee on Mr. Hunt's Cattle Plague Bill.

Mr. HUNT explained the exceptions to the general prohibition of the removal of cattle which the bill proposed to allow. Up to the 25th of March beasts moved from one farm to another would be allowed to travel 200 yards along a high road; beasts landed at a port would be allowed to move to a slaughterhouse 500 yards, and move from a farm to a slaughterhouse two miles along a high road. There would also be exceptions in favour of calves, working oxen, and milch cows required for seagoing vessels. After the 25th of March sound cattle would be allowed to be moved at a change of tenancy, under the license of the local authorities, and during two periods of seven days each in each quarter for the purpose of stocking farms. He proposed also to allow a relaxation for breeding purposes. The operation of the bill, he further explained, might be suspended by Order in Council at any time after the end of April next.

On clause 13, which contains a general prohibition of the movement of cattle, a long discussion was raised by a proviso, proposed by Mr. H. VIVIAN, which was ultimately agreed to, with amendments, and which suspends the prohibition in large districts having well-defined boundaries, and declared by the Privy Council free from the cattle plague, and gives the local authorities power to make orders to prevent the introduction of diseased cattle, and to regulate the movement of cattle within those districts.

On Clause 14, which allows cattle moved from one part to another of the same farm to pass along a high-road for a distance of 200 yards, Mr. BOVILL carried an amendment, by a division of 146 to 83 votes, allowing them to travel any further distances under a license, and on the suggestion of Lord CRANBOURNE the further distance was limited to two miles.

The discussion of the first 27 clauses, some of which, however, were postponed, occupied the House until close upon one o'clock, when the Chairman was ordered to report progress.

The National Debt Reduction and the Savings-Banks and Post-office Savings-Banks Bills passed through committee.

The House adjourned at five minutes before one o'clock.

PARLIAMENTARY SKETCHES.

BELOW THE GANGWAY.—The London correspondent of the *Birmingham Post*, in a description of the new House of Commons, says:—"Perhaps the most influential and distinguished bench in the House, and certainly that to which the greatest number of eyes is turned, is the second bench below the gangway on the Ministerial side. First comes the manly figure, and comely, honest, Saxon features of John Bright, now the leader of a strong, popular, and intellectual section of the Liberal party; yet finding so little consolation in the accession of his forces, that, without Mr. Cobden, he will tell the House presently he feels as if he were almost alone. Next to Mr. Bright is Mr. Seely, M.P. for Lincoln, the friend and host of Garibaldi, who last session rendered good service by pointing out the wastefulness and inefficiency of Admiralty and dockyard management. Then comes the fine bald head of John Stuart Mill, the new M.P. for Westminster. No man is more warmly congratulated on his appearance in the House. Everyone feels that the House of Commons gains lustre and reputation by the presence of so distinguished a philosopher and so original a thinker. Mr. Mill is sixty years of age, but looks younger. His features are mild, and wear a thoughtful, benevolent, and contemplative expression. Next to him sits another new member, well known, if not quite so distinguished as a writer—Thomas Hughes, M.P. for Lambeth, author of 'Tom Brown's School Days,' the 'Scouring of the White Horse,' and other popular works. He, too, is an advanced Liberal, the friend of the working classes, but at times their manly and courageous reprobator. Beyond him are Mr. M'Cullagh Torrens (once Mr. Torrens M'Cullagh), who has succeeded little Mr. Wat Tyler Cox in the representation of Finsbury; and Mr. Stansfeld, the friend of Mazzini, who was driven from the Treasury Bench by a factious outcry, but who is sadly wanted back again at the Admiralty. These are men—Mill, Hughes, Stansfeld, Fawcett, Torrens—whom any political leader might be proud to own, and who will lead on the popular party to fresh conquests over prejudice

and ignorance. Behind them are the Ayrtons, Basleys, J. B. Smiths, and the rank and file of the advanced Liberals favourable to an extension of the suffrage, both vertical and lateral, and extremely doubtful whether to accept as worth having a suffrage based upon a 6L rating as distinguished from a 6L rental."

JOHN STUART MILL'S DEBUT.—As Mr. Lowe sat down the name of Mill was whispered round the House, and on glancing over to his place it was seen that the hon. member for Westminster—which denomination is the least of his distinctions—was about to speak. The seat he usually occupied had been taken by Mr. Lowe, and Mr. Mill stood next to Mr. Bright. His personal appearance is, I suppose, tolerably well known. He is somewhat tall and very slight. His face is long and thin, and his head is bald. He stood very unpretendingly, and one could not but feel that, whether his modesty was the habit of a recluse or of an old public official, it was at any rate remarkable in a philosopher who, if ideal Government were possible, might very probably have been selected as absolute director of the national affairs. On the other hand, it is probable that many listened to Mr. Mill, in the hope of detecting some symptom of superiority to those practical considerations which are despotically obligatory on all concerned in public affairs. If this, however, were the case, they were greatly disappointed. There was nothing in Mr. Mill's speech, any more than there is in any of his books, rightly read, to indicate pedantry or any inability to adapt himself to circumstances as they arise. Mr. Mill's only danger is a weakness of voice, which is especially perilous in one who speaks as he writes—closely and without surplusage. When a man says a thing two or three times, as many good speakers do, it matters little if one misses a sentence; but Mr. Mill dropped his voice to-day just at the critical point at which he named the more important of two objections which he anticipated would be made against his argument. Your readers will see, if Mr. Mill's speech is reported *verbatim*—and it is difficult to imagine its being reported otherwise—that not a line of it could be missed without disadvantage. It was a very interesting sight to witness the House filled in every part, and crowded at the bar, where members were standing who could not obtain seats, listening with intense eagerness to the modest maiden utterances of the greatest man whom the last election introduced to Parliamentary life; and without attempting to give the tenor of the speech, I may say that in manner, as well as in matter, it proved that there is no subject of real difficulty upon which the House may not calculate upon hearing from Mr. Mill observations which, if they are not wise enough to follow them, will at least enable them to grasp every phase and detail of the argument. Moreover, his remarks on the obligations of an aristocracy to exhibit the feelings of aristocracy was a foretaste, I fancy, of a few scathing applications of first principles which are not unlikely to make more parties than one wince as Mr. Mill becomes a more frequent speaker.—*Sheffield Independent*.

THE CATTLE PLAGUE DEBATE.—Mr. Mill shares with Mr. Bright the distinction of provoking replies from Opposition members of all sorts. Every whipper-snapper rushes in to break a lance upon him—not with him, for he sits serene and does not reply. Mr. Hunt, the Opposition member who fights the Opposition case, is a tall, bulky man, with large features and a heavy beard. He looks like something between a parson and a heavy dragoon. He speaks clearly and unaffectedly, and has a good voice. Mr. Banks-Stanhope is a regular squire, with a sharp, rat-like look, and apparently not in want of pluck. Lord Cranbourne, by far the most offensive speaker on that side, is a tall, gloomy-looking man, with round shoulders, and a voice as harsh as his language. The whole aspect of the House during these cattle plague debates has been very animated—members perpetually going in and out, benches nearly always full, even at "meal times," and when the member in possession of the House sits down, half-a-dozen pop up to catch the Speaker's eye. Lord Burleigh beats everybody in the art of popping up,—he springs to his feet like a jack-in-the-box, and when he is on his feet he has a knack of consulting his boots for the next word—words not being abundant with him—and bends about as if he were on the point of jamming his head into the man below him. One is not prepossessed by the appearance of either of the heirs of the great house of Cecil.—*Leeds Mercury*.

Foreign and Colonial.

FRANCE.

In the debate on the Address in the Senate on the 15th the Duke de Persigny delivered a speech showing that English Parliamentary institutions were unfitted for France. "The Emperor," he said, "has given to France durable liberty, founded upon the solid basis of authority. History shows us various forms of liberty. The Emperor has made the Constitution to contain the principle of liberty, and it depends upon public opinion to develop it." M. Rouland said the existing liberties were sufficient, while the Marquis de Boissey maintained the contrary opinion. M. Rouher eulogised the speeches of the Duke de Persigny. The Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was finally adopted unanimously.

On Sunday the deputation from the Senate with the reply to the speech from the Throne had an audience of the Emperor. His Majesty said,—

This eloquent commentary upon my speech develops what I merely pointed out, and explains all that I

wished to convey. You desire, as I do, stability, the rational and progressive development of our institutions, and the maintenance intact of the national honour and dignity. This accord is a force in the moral as well as in the physical world, and obeys general laws which cannot be violated without danger. It is not by daily disturbing the basis of an edifice that its completion (*couronnement*) is hastened. My Government is not stationary. It is advancing, and wishes to advance, but upon firm ground, capable of supporting power and liberty.

M. de Girardin, unable, by reason of the censor, to print criticisms on the debates, puts advertisements in that place in his paper where leading articles were wont to appear.

PRUSSIA.

The President of the Ministry of State has addressed a letter to Herr Grabow, President of the Chamber of Deputies, in which he declares that the resolutions of the Chamber relative to the Duchy of Lauenberg, the Supreme Court, and the Cologne Banquet, are unconstitutional, and therefore cannot be accepted by the Government. For these reasons he returns the resolutions to the President of the Chamber of Deputies.

The police have dissolved a large meeting of workmen at Berlin, called together to express approval of the position taken up by the Chamber of Deputies.

It is asserted that Prussia is about to send a note to the Austrian Cabinet, declaring the personal union of the Duchies to Prussia to be the only solution of the Schleswig-Holstein question.

AUSTRIA.

It is asserted that Austria and Italy are about to conclude an arrangement for the improvement of their mutual consular and commercial relations. Austria, without recognising the Kingdom of Italy, will consent to extend the provisions of the Austro-Sardinian Treaty of Commerce of 1852 to all merchandise arriving in Austria from any part of the Italian Kingdom.

The Emperor Napoleon has sent the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour to the Austrian Crown Prince.

The *Wanderer* confirms the report that Prussia intends entering into negotiations with Austria in order to arrive at a definite settlement of the question of the Duchies. It is said that Prussia will propose to Austria to cede her rights of possession in the Duchies in consideration of a pecuniary indemnity.

The debate on the Address commenced in Thursday's sitting of the Hungarian Diet. The Vice-President of the Chamber and the Government Commissioner explained in what manner the Foreign Affairs as well as the Finance and War Departments of Hungary and Austria will be considered the common affairs of the two countries, and stated that, in their opinion, those subjects should be treated by delegates from the Diets of Hungary and the other provinces of Austria. The draught Address of the Upper House expresses the same sentiments and wishes as the Address of the Lower House.

AMERICA.

New York advices have been received to Feb. 7th. The New York press universally express extreme satisfaction at the Emperor Napoleon's announcement of preparations for the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico, which they regard as an augury of peace between France and the United States.

In the Senate, Mr. Sumner has delivered a speech against the Constitutional amendment making the total number of the population the basis of representation, excepting those deprived of the suffrage on account of their colour. He considered a simple Act of Congress would better effect the desired object, and submitted a substitute declaring all distinctions on account of colour abolished in the late rebellious States. Mr. Sumner also reported a bill from the Committee on Foreign Relations authorising the appointment of a Minister to Dominica.

The House of Representatives have passed a bill extending the powers of the Freedmen's Bureau, as amended by the Committee on Freedmen's Affairs, and confining its operations to those States in which the privilege of Habeas Corpus remained suspended on the 1st of February of this year. The bill was passed by 136 against 33 votes.

A political movement is reported to be on foot in Washington to inaugurate a new political party, comprising the Union Democrats and the Conservative Republicans, to support the President's policy as opposed to the Radical Republicans.

New Orleans despatches report that there are 40,000 destitute persons in Alabama, who will require an expenditure of over 2,000,000 dols. yearly to relieve their necessities.

The Fenian alarm has abated in Toronto. Sweeney is said not to be in Canada. Mahony's bonds are reported to be selling freely throughout the United States.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

The Queen of Spain's infant is dead, and the Cortes was closed for three days, as a mark of respect.

It seems that Mazzini has been elected for Messina. He has received 311 votes against 169 given to his opponent, Bottari.

THE DROUGHT IN AUSTRALIA.—The 5th of January was appointed by the Governor of the colony of Victoria, as a day of humiliation and prayer "to avert the consequences of a protracted drought."

The betrothal of the Princess Dagmar and the new

Hereditary Grand Duke of Russia will take place in the month of April, on the birthday of King Christian. The Princess has not been in good health for some little time, and fears have been entertained that her Royal Highness's indisposition may result in a serious affection.

THE PANIC AMONGST THE PORK-WATERS OF GERMANY, in consequence of the spread of the newly-discovered worm disease, is so great that, according to the *Fremdenblatt* of Vienna, the pig-dealers of that city have telegraphed to their agents in Serbia and Hungary not to send them any more swine for the present, as most of the hotels have suppressed in their bill of fare all preparations of pork.

Certain religious fraternities in Italy, foreseeing their speedy dissolution, have tried to make hay whilst the sun shines, i.e. to contract new debts upon their present possessions, and in some cases even to sell furtively part of their property. The Minister of Justice has therefore issued a decree declaring all such debts and sales illegal and their contractors liable to punishment.

THE NEGRO REPUBLIC OF HAYTI.—"G." takes upon the *Times* the defence of Hayti which is so often quoted as a proof of the incapacity of the negro race for self-government. He says:—

Our public Code is the *Code Napoleon*. We administer our affairs, foreign and domestic, with the same care as other nations do. We have our public universities, colleges, and schools, our chambers of commerce, our tribunals of justice, and our courts of law; and we have our men of eminence in every profession. We also have a literature, and all creeds are tolerated. It is likewise due to our young men to state that, in fair competition with the youths of France, many of them have carried off the first prizes from the Universities and the highest honours from the schools of jurisprudence and medicine. I believe, indeed, that if we were fairly judged, we should not be found behind any people in the world.

I think it worthy of mention that Hayti has for many years had a diplomatic representative in England, in France, and in Spain. It was not our privilege to be accepted at Washington, but we may now point with satisfaction to the fact that we also have a representative there.

Court, Official, and Personal News.

The Court will leave Osborne for Windsor this day.

On Monday, Prince Alfred arrived from Gibraltar at Spithead in the *Racoon*, and proceeded to Osborne.

Last week the Prince and Princess of Wales paid a visit to Major-General the Hon. A. N. Hood and Lady Hood, at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great-park, and attended a grand ball in the evening. On Monday, there was a meeting of the commissioners for the Paris Exhibition, at the South Kensington Museum. The Prince of Wales presided, and made a short address, in which he congratulated the commissioners on the progress which had been made.

A special train bringing up the Queen's assent to the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill was delayed by two heavy luggage-trains, which could not readily be got out of the way. Hence the long waiting in the House for the necessary document.

On Tuesday next, the Queen will hold a Court at Buckingham Palace, at which her Majesty will receive the Corps Diplomatique, the members of her Majesty's Cabinet, and other official persons, with their families who will be invited.

It is stated that to-morrow a Royal message will be sent to the House of Commons, requesting the House to make provision for the endowment of the Princess Helena on the occasion of her marriage. A provision will also be proposed for Prince Alfred.

It is believed that the amount of the surplus which the Chancellor of the Exchequer will have to announce has been very much over-estimated. It cannot, even under the most favourable circumstances, come within a million of the amount which has been named. He will not interfere with the tea-duties.

The Queen has been pleased to approve a peerage being conferred on Sir Charles Wood. He will assume the title of Viscount Halifax.

Within a few days the House of Commons will be moved to grant a sum of money for the erection of a monument to Lord Palmerston over his tomb in Westminster Abbey.

The French Emperor has sent hither two commissioners to examine and report on our public school system. They have visited Harrow.

Sir Elkanah Armitage has been appointed High Sheriff of Lancashire.

Mr. Alderman Goadsby, one of the most esteemed members of the Manchester Corporation, to whom the city is indebted in a great degree for the erection of the memorial of the late Prince Consort, died on Friday.

In a notice from the Foreign Office it is stated that the blockade of the Spanish squadron is limited to Valparaiso and Coquimbo.

GREAT NORTHERN HOSPITAL, CALEDONIAN-ROAD, ISLINGTON, N.—Number of patients for the week ending 17th February, 1,046, of which 199 were new cases.

PUFFING PUBLISHERS.—The *Spectator*, in the course of a caustic denunciatory criticism of a new poet, remarked: "And this extraordinary production Mr. — modestly conceives to be equal to Goethe!" The audacious publisher managed to make a favourable notice out of this for his advertisement, thus: "Extraordinary production . . . equal to Goethe.—*Spectator*."

Literature.

MODERN SCIENCE AND "FINAL CAUSES."*

We gather from the earlier pages of the "Harveian Oration" for 1865—a small work which has neither a stated subject, nor a scheme of contents to guide the reader—that the celebrated discoverer of the circulation of the blood has been recently, for the first time in history, discussed in his native tongue before the college he loved so well, and on a "commemorative holyday," of which he was the founder. The task proposed to himself by Dr. Acland is confined to the one general topic—"how far some points in Harvey's Methods of Discovery are in accordance with the ideas which the experience of advancing science has taught;" hoping to be able to show that, after the lapse of two centuries, not only are his discoveries valuable, but that his methods were correct. It is desired that thus there may be afforded a vindication of the annual scientific essays which the College of Physicians has decided to ask from its working Fellows.

Dr. Acland takes up Harvey's reputation and enduring influence, not as the discoverer of the Circulation of the Blood, but as presenting a notable instance of "a philosopher who studied nature under the conviction that every arrangement in the natural world is the result of design—that every effect is intended, and has a purpose." It is this persuasion, says the most eminent of our historians of science, Dr. Whewell, "which directed the researches and led to the discoveries of Harvey." Is, then, research guided by the idea of "Final Causes" a safe and proper scientific method? This question has been answered in opposite ways; and the direct contradiction to Whewell cannot be better represented than in the view put forth by the founder of Positivism, Auguste Comte, whom Dr. Acland selects, and who maintains that "the idea of Final Cause and Providential Government is ruined by the irresistible evidence of modern science." Our author points out what he conceives to be a fundamental error in Comte's statement of the case, viz.—the utter confusion of two things so essentially different as, (1) that we are able to state the object for which things exist, and (2) that we may be satisfied that there is, behind all the efficient causes which we can see, a First Cause, which we believe to be a Supreme Will and Intelligence. He thinks that it may be possible that we cannot safely apply the idea of Final Cause as a certain means of scientific investigation, inasmuch as there may be several final causes for the same condition. But he holds that, if we discard the use of Final Causes in science, we do not necessarily infer, as Comte did, the absence of Providential Government. On this point he quotes the opinions of Descartes (one of Harvey's greatest admirers), and of Kant; also coming down to those of Professor Owen and Mr. Herbert Spencer.

From these preliminaries Dr. Acland passes to the very definite position of Comte, that "all argument from Design in the Universe is worthless, and that the Design, if it exist, is bad." The Frenchman's crucial instance is the structure of the eye: particularly as to the action of the crystalline lens, which, he says, "the puerile affectation of pretended philosophers has admired, notwithstanding its fundamental uselessness,—as if there could be much wisdom in the inopportune introduction of a part which is not indispensable to the phenomenon, and which may nevertheless, in certain cases, prevent it entirely." Pointing back to Lucretius, as one who quite as clearly and tersely presented these views, and employed the same particular illustration, Dr. Acland joins issue with Comte as to this position—that "Design is barred to us: Chance is left: and this fruit of Chance is beneficially, but without intention, transmitted with precision from generation to generation." He thus comes alongside the "natural selection" scheme of Mr. Darwin, which he describes as "a remarkable attempt to reduce the doctrine of what used to be called Chance to an orderly philosophical system"; but admits that M. Comte could by no means have counted Mr. Darwin among his followers. We shall not attempt to follow the evidence and reasoning from this point. While it is candidly admitted, as science requires, that the crystalline lens is not an essential part of the eye abstractedly considered, and that there is a certain order of vision possible without it, it is, in our judgment, conclusively shown, both as to the uses of the lens, and as to the conservative influences of its very liability to dis-

order, that the attack of Comte on the eye, and on Final Causes by means of this instance, has failed absolutely "and hopelessly."

The author, having disposed of this special instance, returns to weigh the influence of the notion of a First Cause on the minds of such men as Harvey and Boyle; and forcibly shows that the belief, accepted in preference to that of fatal necessity or blind chance, has been a preparation for the detection of harmonies of contrivance and minute indications of order, which otherwise elude the investigating mind. Thus his conclusion does not amount to a defence of the validity, or assertion of the sufficiency, of all Harvey's methods of research; but only to the establishment of the position that the conviction of the presence of a purpose as well as harmony in the material world, has borne fruit in mighty discovery, and can never be repudiated as unworthy a scientific man. On the other hand, Comte, believing that the idea of "the Course of Nature being the Act of God" is a mistaken, absurd, and mischievous idea, has made an attack "which, from its assumption and its ignorance, recoils on himself, notwithstanding his knowledge and genius."

We hardly expected to find in this Oration an appreciable service to religious philosophy as well as to science: but we are gratified to have to record our sense of obligation to the Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford, for a work treating one of the most interesting questions in the foreground of theology, with an intellectual energy and scientific spirit, worthy alike of the most advanced research and of the greatness of the theme. We are, however, of opinion that something more might have been done in setting forth clearly the actual contents of the doctrine of Final Causes, and in marking the broad and inclusive meaning necessary to its scientific applications. The abuses of the doctrine by the scholastics, and the darkness brought over it by the mistakes and perversity of those who have employed it in its purely theological relations, might well account for the much misunderstood disparagement of Bacon, and even for the ridicule of Voltaire. When a supporter of the doctrine can be found to contend that the tides were attached to the ocean to enable ships to enter more easily into their ports, and to preserve the water from corruption, it is not wonderful that the Encyclopædists should reply that he might just as probably and successfully have urged that boots are the final cause of legs, and spectacles the final cause of noses. Much harm has been done to the use of the doctrine, alike as a method of scientific investigation and as a truth of theology, by the restriction of the notion to organised bodies: a subject on which a dozen words of refutation would suffice, although the mischief wrought by this superficial view or headless habit has been by no means inconsiderable. With such a thinker as Mr. Mill, the question of Final Causes must be taken up on prior ground: and we must deal with the true nature of the principle of Causality, and decide whether the idea resolves itself into Power, and that into Rational Will. In such conclusions lie the essential elements of the doctrine of Final Causes. Dr. Acland's interesting tractate will chiefly influence those who take up the idea in connection with physiological phenomena; but will solidly content almost all who have any sense of its true import and use. There will remain some, and the spirit common to many recent pieces of scientific writing shows that they are many, who will hardly stop short of the scornful abuse which Mirabaud lavished on Final Causes, and will rejoice to appropriate even such daring words in contempt of the theory as that:—"Man, who considers himself the masterwork of the Divinity, supplies us more readily and completely than any other production with evidence of the incapacity or malignity of his pretended author: and that either everything performed in the course of nature is simply the unavoidable result of its imperative and insuperable laws, or that the artificer who impels her various operations is destitute of plan, of power, of constancy, of skill, and of goodness." Dr. Acland does not apply his argument to the full import of the position thus indicated; but it is such men as he, with adequate culture and philosophic mind, who must, if we interpret aright the arrogance and dogmatism of recent pursuit of the natural sciences, ere long give minute refutation to such attacks. We are glad that there is any sign of renewed attention to a great truth that has latterly been largely disregarded and disparaged both in its scientific and in its theological significances.

CORNELIUS O'DOWD AGAIN.*

Cornelius O'Dowd and the peculiar characteristics of his humour, his philosophy, his

politics, and his style, have been so fully and so recently discussed in these columns, that we feel relieved from the obligation of doing much else than announcing a third series of his prelections, like the previous two, reprinted from *Blackwood*. Suffice it then to say that this volume is in no wise inferior to its predecessors in wit or wisdom, in cleverness, liveliness, and the power to amuse. The old tone of levity is kept up, but we are by no means certain that Cornelius is not much more in earnest than he chooses to appear. Certainly many of these essays abound in sensible and practical suggestions on matters of the highest importance to the public; and though he may not have the high-toned seriousness of Mr. Helps and more recent essayists, who have caught something of the tone and spirit which Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Ruskin (mainly) have infused into this department of literature, he can speak occasionally in a tone of very proper and manly indignation. But the people will forget that we are not all born with the "manysidedness" of Buckingham, who, in the space of one revolving moon, was chemist, statesman, fiddler, and buffoon. Some are dissatisfied with Cornelius O'Dowd because he wasn't born a Coleridge, which may very safely be granted; but we remember that he was born into a generation to which our present "earnestness" would have been unintelligible; and we must take him for what he is, and rejoice in him as we may. Among essays of the kind to which we refer is one entitled, "The English Inquisition." It is a well-written and perfectly serious protest against the abuses of the right of cross-examination practised by counsel in our judicial courts. No one can ever have been called by business to such places without hearing the most insolent interrogations of witnesses, the vilest imputations insinuated by some bewigged and brazen-faced ruffian, who shields him from all personal responsibility under cover of his "instructions." We have ourselves heard a question similar to this—"Did you ever steal?" asked, without its being pretended for a moment that the question bore reference to any particular fact on which information had been obtained which rendered it a probable inference that the witness had stolen, and so might fairly be taken for a person generally unworthy of credit. In this particular instance the judge objected to the question, unless the counsel could attach to it names and dates; but there ought to be some means by which the person giving "instructions" which suggest false and groundless insinuations can be punished, and we are very glad to see anyone taking the matter up.

Perhaps the most amusing paper in the volume is one entitled, "Hero Worship—a Story." Herr Joel, a Jew money-lender, conceives an admiration for Victor Emmanuel, which has its origin in a rather lucky transaction in "Piedmontese fives." When the burly monarch, with the help of his French allies, drives the Austrians out of Lombardy, and raises the five per cents. from fifty and a-half to eighty-one and a-quarter, his enthusiasm rises to fever heat; he feels that he must see his hero or die. He goes to Italy, where he mentions the object of his journey to everyone he meets; among others to a villainous jack-priest, a confederate of the bandits, who obligingly undertakes to gratify Joel's passion, and tells him where to catch the king out shooting, alone and incognito. Herr Joel proceeds to his fate, which is, of course, a solitary interview with Ninco Nanco, the celebrated bandit chieftain, whom he reverentially addresses as "your Majesty," and who obligingly accepts as presents his watch, ring, purse, &c. But we here give a considerable passage from the best essay of all. Cornelius's bile is deeply stirred by reading of the will of an "officer of rank" at Vienna, who bequeathed the whole of his fortune to his nephew on condition that "he should never read a newspaper." We have omitted a portion of the article in which the author very humorously suggests that very possibly the Austrian officer only wished to shroud in obscurity so far as he could the ignominious subservency of Austria to Prussia in the Schleswig-Holstein business. The condition thus attached to the inheritance Mr. O'Dowd cleverly calls—

AN IMMORAL CONSIDERATION.

"That the man who made such a will as this was insane, I will not say; but I unhesitatingly declare that he imposed a condition repugnant to good sense, and totally opposed to every consideration of reason and judgment. First of all, he assumed—and of all tyrannies I know of none greater—to dictate to another, for the whole term of his life, a condition of moral blindness. Secondly, he presumed to judge not alone what all newspapers were in all lands, but what they might be in years long after his death.

"That any man about to leave the world should like to declare to it before he went, 'I have no sympathy with you; I don't care for you—for your wars, your struggles for liberty, your sufferings, your triumphs. Nothing to me whether you be rich or poor, in sickness, or in health; whether your homes be happy, or your fields be desolate; whether the crimes of your people decrease, or that new forms of vice call for new modes

* *The Harveian Oration*: 1865. By H. W. ACLAND, M.D., F.R.S., Regius Professor of Medicine in the University of Oxford. Macmillan and Co.

* *Upon Men and Women, and other Things in General*. By CORNELIUS O'DOWD. Third Series. Blackwood.

of repression. I don't want to know if education be spreading through your land, or to hear what results have followed such enlightenment. I am alike indifferent to the nature of your laws, and the mode in which they are administered. Uninterested in the great changes which affect states, I do not ask to be informed what the world thinks of them; of that public opinion which is the record of what condition humanity stands in at a given era, I have no desire to hear. Enclosed in the shell of my selfishness, I am satisfied to lead the life of an oyster, I compound for mere existence, and no more.

"Now, I ask, is it such a nature as this that should be permitted to make a formal bequest of his bigotry and ignorance? Should the law lend itself to ratify a compact whereby this man's crass stupidity shall be perpetuated?"

"I am aware he was a German; and much may be forgiven him on the score of narrowness. I know, too, that his warning applied peculiarly to the journals of his own land. And it is but fair to own that a German 'Blatt' is about the dreariest reading a man can fall upon."

"The torrent of rubbishy phraseology in which this beer-bemuddled people involve their commonest thoughts—the struggles they make at subtle distinctions through the mazes of their foggy intellects—the perpetual efforts to regard everything under some fifteen or five-and-twenty different aspects, belabouring a theme and kneading it as a baker kneads his dough—make up a mass of entanglement and confusion that would drive a practical energetic people to the verge of distraction."

"That a man should interdict such readings as these is no more strange than that he should forbid the use of some besetting narcotic, dreary in its effects and depressing in its consequences. Perhaps this testator had recognised in his own case some of the dire results of this dyspeptic literature. Still with all its faults its story was the world. It spoke of man in his works and ways with other men, how he bought and sold, made peace or war, built up or threw down; of the virtues he held high, of the vices he reprobated; what were the views he extended to the world at large, and what were the hopes he cherished for those who were to come after him. Even through the labyrinth of German involution glimpses of these might be had; and why should not his heir be permitted to look at life, albeit through the stained glass of his native language?"

"One of our most brilliant Essayists and most accomplished thinkers has declared that he regards a number of the *Times* as the last report of what the world has achieved of progress; and I thoroughly agree with him. That broadsheet is the morning's 'return' of Humanity, not alone recounting what it has accomplished in the preceding twenty-four hours, but how it feels after it. You have not alone the bulletin of the great battle the world is fighting, but you have an authentic report of the effective state of humanity on the next morning."

"Take the most thorough man of the world of your acquaintance—the man most perfectly versed in what goes on in life, not in one class or section of society, but throughout all ranks and conditions of men—who knows where and for what the world is fighting in this quarter or in that—how it builds its ships—what it pays for gold—how it tills its fields, smelts its metals, cooks its food, and writes its novels—and I ask you, What would he be without his newspaper? . . . Do not reply to me with a *cui bono*."

"For I say that it is with the actual passing, daily-arriving incidents of life a man ought to be thoroughly acquainted, bringing to their consideration all the aid his reading and reflection can supply, so that he neither fall into a dogged incredulity on one side, or a fatal facility of belief on the other. In an age so wildly speculative as the present—eager to inquire and not over given to scruple—such men as these are invaluable to society, and a whole corps of college professors would be less effective in dispelling error or asserting truth than these people trained in all the dialectics of the daily press."

BRIEF NOTICES.

Precious Ointment; or The Dew of Hermon on the Mountains of Zion. An Inquiry with the Will of God concerning the Visible Unity of His Church, with special reference to the Church of England, and those who dissent from it. By R. W. KENNION, M.A., Rector of Acle, Norfolk. (London: W. Macintosh.) Mr. Kennion manifests a more kindly and conciliatory spirit in dealing with Dissenters than most clergymen do. He does not deliver us over to "uncovenanted mercies," nor treat us as a low set of ignorant folk. His aim and purpose are good. He wishes to live in charity with all men. He glances over the disunion in the church of Christ, and earnestly desires to do what in him lies to induce all who believe in the One Lord to unite themselves to the one visible Church. We honour his intentions and aim, and approve the method of reasoning and persuasion he has adopted in giving expression to these; but we must confess he has utterly failed, as far as we can see, to show the sin of Dissent, and the duty of all separatists to flock within the pale of the Established Church. 'Order is Heaven's first law,' we all admit. Mr. Kennion shows how order obtains in the universe, and how it was preserved in the Church of Israel when Moses, by command of God, decreed laws and ordinances and observances, and appointed an order of priests, and allied the Church to the State; and he infers that this order, it is God's will, should continue in the Church of Christ,—that there must be a *visible unity* of His Church, under the rule of duly-appointed clergymen, and closely connected with the State. Mr. Kennion considers that he has proved conclusively that the Church of England fulfils all the conditions of a true Church, so far as is possible among fallible men; and that to dissent from it is to dissent from the Church of Christ. But we may tell him that from his own admissions we may justify our present position. Mr. Kennion says, "Taking the idea or notion of a Church which is 'supplied by Scripture and common sense, and comparing that with the Church of England, as she

"appears on the page of history, and as she is found 'at the present day, I affirm that it is the duty of every 'disciple of Jesus Christ living in England to join himself to the Church of England, unless he can show 'some very good and very clear reason why he should 'not.' Exactly so, Mr. Kennion, we can show that very good and very clear reason. In another place he says:—"I love order, I love unity, but I love truth 'more. I respect all lawfully constituted authority, 'but I respect Divine authority more." We answer, Because we love truth above unity, and respect Divine above human authority, are we Dissenters. We need not here give our reasons for Dissent, for are they not irrefragably written in the book of the chronicles of the Church? To these we must refer Mr. Kennion, and we do this the more readily as he speaks of having read with interest the works of some divines of our order, and refers more than once to an article in the *British Quarterly* for January, 1865. As this good clergyman has read such works, we the more marvel at his not seeing many things which are patent enough, and at his persisting in assertions which have been refuted over and over again. How can a student of history claim for the Church of England an origin in the early times close upon Apostolic, and twit Dissenters with their inability to date their origin farther back than 300 years? It is as if a big brother should boast of his great-grandmother, and snub his less brother for not having had such a venerable ancestress. How strange, too, it is that anyone can still speak thus of the endowments of the Established Church:—"She holds these 'houses and funds, not under a gift from the State, but 'under endowments by the former lords of manors and 'owners of property, who granted the land and tithes, 'and built the churches at their own expense. The 'State has at different times made laws concerning the 'property of the Church as well as concerning other 'property, and the State acts as the protector of the 'property of the Church, as well as of other property. 'But the State did not give it, and to take it away 'would be as much an act of spoliation as to take away 'from any sect of Dissenters the chapels they have 'built and the endowments they hold." We think Mr. Kennion might have found it clearly proved that eight-ninths at least of the tithes can be traced to their origin in *public law*; and at least we can assure him there is a goodly array of writers whom he himself would acknowledge as masters, who in an instant would explode his pleasant assumption about tithes. There are many points in this book which we had marked for notice, but we must forbear. We may, however, remind Mr. Kennion, since he speaks of the diversities and discords of the "sects," that in these "sects" there is scarcely to be found a tithe of the discord and uncharitableness and fierceness of contention that can be found within the pale of his so-called one and united Church; and we would advise him, as we believe, he truly wishes for unity, to look to America and to several of our colonies, where the curse of a dominant Church is done away with. For, we think, as he beholds in actual life "how good and how pleasant it is for 'brethren to dwell together in unity," he will feel refreshed as with "precious ointment upon the head."

The Model Prayer. Being Ten Sermons on the Lord's Prayer. By the Rev. T. LOMAS, of Leicester. (London: Houlston and Wright.) But that the title—"The 'Lord's Prayer"—applied to the series of petitions which form the subjects of these ten sermons is consecrated by long usage, we should be inclined to object that it applies properly to that prayer recorded in the 17th chapter of St. John's Gospel. We do object to its being called "the Model Prayer," just as we would object to the "Sermon on the Mount" being called, as we have heard it, the Model Sermon. Mr. Lomas, however, very properly restricts his use of the title thus:—"The 'idea intended to be conveyed is, not that Jesus imposed upon His followers, present and future, a slavish 'form of words, but that he indicated the subjects 'which should occupy their minds when pleading at 'the mercy-seat. It was designed to be a pattern of 'sentiment, of brevity, and of beauty." The sermons are plain, perspicuous, and earnest, and are calculated to promote devoutness of feeling and edification.

The Confederation of the British North American Provinces. With a map and suggestions relative to the true and only practicable route from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. By THOMAS RAWLINGS, F.R.G.S., of Gresham House. (London: Sampson, Low, and Co., 14, Ludgate-hill. 1865.) Whether we regard the vast extent, the immense resources, the prosperous present, or the promising future of the British, North American Provinces, Mr. Rawlings's work will be found both seasonable and useful. To those, even, whose aims rise not beyond the increase of wealth, the development of industry, or the acquisition of territory with an eye to the future, the subject of colonisation cannot prove otherwise than attractive. Fortunately in Mr. Rawlings's book, we have what will serve as a guide alike to the merchant and trader, the politician and statesman, the philanthropist and Christian, the emigrant and exile. It abounds with descriptions of scenery, with details of resources, with statistics, maps, and plans, which leave nothing to be desired. At the present moment, however, Mr. Rawlings's work is more than usually well-timed. The British provinces are turning their thoughts to the future, and to the expediency of a confederation of all the colonies. When that object has been achieved, when the Atlantic and Pacific have

been united by iron bands, when the passing irritation between England and the United States has ceased, then we venture to augur for the British provinces a course of prosperity not surpassed even by the kindred States to the South. Meanwhile, Mr. Rawlings's work is one that may safely be consulted by all interested in the destiny of the British North American provinces.

An Essay on Human Nature, showing the Necessity of a Divine Revelation for the Perfect Development of Man's Capacities. By HENRY S. BOASE, M.D., F.R.S., &c. (Longman and Co.) Dr. Boase is the author of a former work on the philosophy of nature, which he designed to complete by a volume on "the important 'subject of moral or voluntary actions': but he has 'been induced to modify his plan," in consequence of 'having turned his attention to the theological questions now agitating the religious world': and he believes that "the scientific objections" on which the 'perplexity mainly rests, fall to the ground when the 'facts are interpreted according to the principles of his 'Philosophy." His modesty and candour lead him to acknowledge that "this conviction may, of course, be 'erroneous; for the mind is apt to be unduly biased 'by its preconceived notions." We have bestowed considerable time and pains on the book; having, as we proceeded, a growing conviction that a genuine simplicity of purpose and honesty of mind must be attributed to the author, and finding occasionally a good popular statement of some particular question, and a fair intimation of the first principles to which such question must be referred. But, having the strongest predisposition to say a good word of a book so sincere and painstaking, we are really sorry to have to say that there is absolutely nothing in it; and that we cannot conceive any perplexed mind perusing it without an indefinite increase of its perplexity. It is a case falling under the old, old criticism—"What is true in it is not 'new, and what is new is not true." While always sensible of the singleness and earnestness of soul which pervades it, we have been lost in its confusions and waywardnesses: and while perceiving that the author has prepared himself for his task by much reading, are compelled to add that he has a very superficial knowledge of the subjects he touches, and of what has been done for them by others, and that he has no such insight or grasp as will stand in the stead of acquired knowledge, or as the subjects demand in connection with even highest knowledge. The feebleness which marks the opening, in the following sentences:—"Self-knowledge 'is an acquisition much to be desired to make one wise, 'to enable us to answer the momentous questions, 'What am I? whence came I? and whither do I go? 'The proper study of mankind is man'—so says the 'philosophical bard of Twickenham in his Essay on 'Man; but of course every author is disposed to think 'highly of his own subject," &c.—does not grow into strength in the view of the will, "propounded" as putting things "in a clear light"; viz.—"When a 'creature has a capacity for knowledge, and employs 'it in the regulation of its conduct, then its soul, or 'vital power, rises above its ordinary condition of 'animal life, which is guided by instinct, and becomes 'a conscious free agent, or WILL." If we thought we should do the author the slightest injustice by here closing our notice of his work, we would gladly let him speak for himself of "the will as the energising power 'in all volitions," of the position that "desires are 'volitions," and again of "Will, the conscious soul's 'energy, free, but responsible for its acts"; but we are persuaded that there is nothing to be gained, either to him or to our readers, by further account of this well-intentioned, largely intelligent, but after all very incapable book.

A Commentary or Exposition upon the Prophecies of Obadiah and Habakkuk. By EDWARD MARBURY. "Puritan Commentaries." (Edinburgh: James Nichol.) The author of these expositions "has gone out of sight 'save in the title-pages of the two quartos now re-'printed." Mr. Grosart has not been well rewarded for his "search and research in every likely quarter" for facts of his life and ministry. A few dates of graduation at Cambridge, and a tantalising indication of "kinsmanship with not a few historic names," taken together with the ascertained facts that he was "a 'Puritan in doctrine, and a Royalist in sentiment 'and allegiance," and that he lost at least one living 'by sequestration in the late Rebellion,"—are all the particulars that remain to us of Edward Marbury. Mr. Grosart could not press controversial matter into his brief notice, nor venture in so catholic a series as the "Puritan Commentaries," to denounce a writer like Walker, the author of the notorious "Sufferings of the 'Clergy"; but he has cleverly exposed, in both text and note, the untrustworthiness of the man whom 1862 saw reproduced by the clergy for the blackening of the glorious names of 1662. Marbury, it seems, held two livings, one of which, St. James, Garlickhith, he resigned in 1642. "To this brief account, Walker 'characteristically interpolates . . . 'the forced resignation of Mr. Marbury." He gives as his authority "Newcourt, i. p. 367; but there is not a syllable about 'a forced resignation therein, or in all the work, as 'any one may see for himself. . . . The 'forced' resignation may have been of a far different sort from 'what Walker would insinuate, inasmuch as LAUD 'presented and instituted his successor. One cannot 'help an ugly suspicion that pressure had been used—

"a pressure quite intelligible, as the doctrinal teaching and ecclesiastical opinions of Marbury showed him to have stood at the opposite pole from Laud and his school." In a note, it is added, "The double entry of Marbury under 'St. James, Garlick-hith,' and 'St. Peter's, Paul's Wharfs' [the two livings held by him], is a specimen of that multiplication of 'sufferers' by Walker, which utterly vitiates his work." To turn, now, to the commentaries reprinted after so long a time, and which "hitherto, on their rare occurrence, have fetched extravagant prices," we are content, and we think our readers will be, to have here transferred the words of Mr. Grosart:—"He proves himself to have been familiar with the Fathers, Greek and Latin, as well as with the Schoolmen, and the philosophers and poets of antiquity. He works in with no little skill his quotations—never overloading. . . . There is a rich odour of spirituality, as from hidden spices, in most unlooked-for places. If we compare Marbury with Bishop Pilkington on Obadiah, he has far more substance; if with Rainolds, more sprightliness; if with John Ellis, more grace. In his Habakkuk he stands almost alone, in so far as English commentary is concerned. It excels his Obadiah, being thoroughly expository, suggestive, savoury, sparkling as the dew on the grass with luminous and refreshing thoughts, and pulsating like a living human heart, rather than a printed volume, with holy passion and fervour."

The Works of Thomas Goodwin, D.D. Vol. XI. Series of Puritan Divines. (Edinburgh: J. Nichol.) This volume contains Goodwin's treatise on "The Government of the Churches of Christ," with an extended catechism, and sundry letters on involved topics. Let all Congregationalists know it. There are manifest differences between the older and later views of Congregational church government; but, if there be ground for rejecting the distinction of offices as fourfold, viz., pastor, ruling elder, teacher, and deacon—as to which, however, opinions may well differ—there can be no doubt that there is abundant reason to reconsider the relations of churches, and the use of elective occasional synods to deal with maladministrations and acts of injustice of which the effects may be such as to demand, in the interests of religion or church principles, the judgment or declarative opinion of the commonwealth of Congregational churches. This volume on "the Divine institution of a Congregational church," its "constitution and order," and its "complete ability for all acts of government, and excommunication itself, as well as for worship," includes also a consideration and refutation (as is held by the author) of the claims of Presbyterian government, and of the general jurisdiction of synods. It is pointed out by the editor that, in thus including in the series the only treatise that deals with a controverted ecclesiastical question, it has been supposed "that even those subscribers who least agree with Goodwin's sentiments would have been dissatisfied" had his works been left incomplete by withholding this particular production; and "that it is not published with any sectarian view, is sufficiently vouched by the fact that both the publisher and editor belong to that section of the Church whose views are specially controverted."

The Friend: A Series of Essays. By S. T. COLERIDGE. (Bohn's Standard Library.) (London: Bell and Daldy) Here, then, at length is a cheap one-volume edition of the greatest work of our post-philosopher, Coleridge, and our remembrance of the benefits it conferred on us in the very making of our mind—now long ago,—and our continuing sense of its quickening power and directive value, after all abatements for its not always interesting or serviceable discussions from its several "landing places," constrain us to say that there has been no republication for many years that has given us more pleasure, or to which we more eagerly call the attention of our readers. We suppose the copyright has expired, so far as the edition of 1818 is concerned, and from that edition this reprint is made. The edition in three volumes issued by the author's nephew, with some specialities of revision, and notes as well as introductory matters, is still the one to be desired, but we are thankful for one which is universally accessible. And we note that its appearance coincides with the revived attention, of which we recently said something, to the merits and influence of Coleridge as a philosophical and religious thinker.

Lectures on Sculpture. By JOHN FLAXMAN. With Introductory Lectures and Addresses, by Sir RICHARD WESTMACOTT, R.A. With Fifty-three Plates. New Edition. (Bohn's Illustrated Library.) (Bell and Daldy.) The publishers who have acquired to themselves the property in Bohn's series, or at least now continue it, have added much to its character by the works they have reproduced in its cheap and attractive forms. No volume that has hitherto appeared is to be compared for beauty and richness of illustration with the Lectures of Flaxman now included in the "Illustrated Library." The work had been long out of print, and had become very scarce, and the new edition adheres entirely to the first form given it by the "illustrious author," the correction of minor errors excepted. It is thus not only brought within the reach of every student of art, but is made the possible enjoyment of every person of refined taste, even to the ranks of the working classes. We receive it gratefully, and commend it warmly. At the same time, to save mistake, we will say that we are not ourselves so

fanatically Flaxman worshippers as some have been in our time.

Jehovah's Jewels. By the Rev. JOHN LEECHMAN, M.A., LL.D., Glasgow University. (London: Elliot Stock.) The dazzling sheen of the jewellery collected in this book might be very effective, we think, if displayed in the pulpit: it loses much of its effect, and gives a confused light, when reflected from the ink of the printer. After an introduction, showing the appropriateness of the term Jewels to the people of God, the author sets forth in five chapters the Origin, the Value, the Beauty, the Use, and the Destiny, of Jehovah's Jewels. A great number of facts about all sorts of precious stones are used in illustration and enforcement of the peculiar dignity and worth of God's children; and several of the more splendid and valuable gems, which have a world-wide renown, such as the Koh-i-noor, have frequently their exquisite lustre pointed out, and then are compelled to pale their ineffectual fire before the glory that excelleth, the light that never was on sea or shore. We can easily believe that to very many the book will afford the most delightful reading, but to ourselves, we must confess, it is wearisome. We read on, assenting to everything, and still finding at any pause, that any gain in the shape of a jewel of thought we fancied we had secured, was only that jewel's lustrous flash.

Sketches by an Idle Man. (London: F. Pitman.) Some of these sketches afford interesting reading for an idle hour, but others are so sketchy as to be disappointing. The first sketch, "Three Hundred a Year and Marriage," has much of human interest, and presents a pretty rural home picture. "An Old Story," touches, as the author says, "upon a subject hardly fit for general reading." Its introduction will be a bar to the free circulation of the book. The writer, in his fondness for out-of-the-way places, and passion for fishing, has loitered away many months on the Continent and in rustic spots in our own islands, and has taken notes of what he saw and heard. Of the French and Irish peasantry he has many loving words to say, but his estimate of the English and German country people is not so warm. Like most other travellers on the Continent, the "Idle Man," has learned to see that the English are much too reserved, and proud, and inconsiderate of the feelings of their neighbours. The purport of one of the sketches appears to be mainly to point out the offensiveness with which such words as "Waterloo," "Trafalgar," &c., are constantly presented to the eyes of *Les Messieurs* as soon as they cross the Channel.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Eastward, by Norman McLeod, D.D. (Strahan). Science and Christian Thought; Two New Year's Days (Religious Tract Society). Missionary Evenings at Home (Nelson and Sons). Richard Cobden; Castaway on the Auckland Isles (Lockwood and Co.). Fulford's Poems (Moxon and Co.). The Sixth Work (Jackson, Walford, and Co.). On the Imbecile and Idiotic (Longman). Jenke's Devotions; Bean's Family Worship (W. Tegg). Life's Everlasting Victory (Nisbet). Systematic Memory (Pitman). History of Christian Literature and Doctrine, Vols. II. and III.; The Holy Roman Empire (Macmillan and Co.). Debrett's Baronetage, Knightage, and House of Commons, 1866; Debrett's Peerage, 1866 (Dean and Son). Sweet Counsel; Walker's Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language; Penny Readings; Kindly Hints on Cottage Life; Vegetables, and how to grow them; Friendly Truths for Working Homes (F. Warne and Co.). Saul: a Dramatic Poem; The Lighted Way (E. Stock). Outlines of Scripture History; Chronological Outlines of English History; Chronological and Genealogical Tables (Simpkin and Co.). Autobiography of a Man of Kent.

Miscellaneous News.

THE DIVISION ON THE HABEAS CORPUS SUSPENSION BILL.—The members voting in the minority of six were—Mr. J. A. Blake, Sir Rowland Blennerhasset, Sir George Bowyer, Dr. Brady, Mr. J. B. Dillon, Mr. J. D. Reardon. The tellers for the "Noes" were The O'Donoghue and Mr. J. F. Maguire. The number of members voting was 370, tellers 4, and with the Speaker, together made 375 as the total number present.

CELEBRATION OF THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN AMERICA.—A crowded public meeting, convened by the Freedman's Aid Society, was held on Thursday night in Exeter Hall to commemorate the abolition of slavery in the United States of America. Mr. Benjamin Scott, the Chamberlain of the City of London, occupied the chair, and before opening the proceedings he requested Dr. Tomkins, the secretary of the society, to read the Constitutional Amendment passed in Congress on the 18th of December, 1855, by which slavery is for ever prohibited throughout the Union. The meeting remained standing while this document was being read. The chairman then proceeded to deliver an introductory address, in the course of which he described the abolition of slavery as the grandest event that had yet been written upon the page of history. Next to congratulating America upon the destruction of slavery, the meeting was assembled to cheer on the societies which had been formed to aid the negro in his transition from slavery to freedom. (Hear, hear.) The central and other societies had already contributed between 40,000*l.* and 50,000*l.* for that purpose. (Hear.) Mr. Handel Cossam, of Bristol, in moving the first resolution (expressive of thankfulness and congratulation on the abolition of

slavery), gave an interesting account of a recent visit he had made to the United States. The Rev. Newman Hall seconded the resolution. Mr. J. W. Probin and Professor Leone Levi spoke in its support. It was unanimously adopted. Dr. Holbrook, of New York, claimed the privilege of being allowed to acknowledge it on behalf of his fellow-countrymen. Dr. Hugh Allen proposed, and Dr. Brock seconded, another resolution, recognising the responsibilities arising from the new state of things, and cordially approving the objects of the British and Foreign Freedman's Aid Society. Like the preceding one, it was carried unanimously, and the meeting separated at an advanced hour of the evening, after voting thanks to the chairman, and contributing to the funds of the society. It is said to be the intention of the society to open a fund for the relief of the distress in Jamaica.

THE SUBURBAN VILLAGE AND GENERAL DWELLINGS COMPANY (LIMITED).—A company with this title has just issued its prospectus, which appears in our advertising columns. The capital is fixed at a million sterling (with power to increase), in 100,000 shares of 10*l.* each. The present issue is 200,000*l.* The want which this company aims to supply is unquestionable. No one can look at the increase of population in the metropolis on the one hand, and the displacement of dwellings of the poor by railway and other public companies on the other, without admitting that this and a hundred other schemes must be devised, and that speedily, to meet the growing demand for space. But it is more with a view to notice the main features of this enterprise than to give a general commendation of all kindred to it, that we direct attention to the prospectus. It is said that "dwellings for even the lower ranks of working men can only be secured in conformity with the established condition of commercial enterprise," and that "Alderman Waterlow estimated his profits on Langbourn-buildings at 7 or 8 per cent. per annum." "In further illustration," the prospectus goes on to say "of the demand for healthy homes for those classes, it may be mentioned that for the 100 tenements contained in the block known as Stanley buildings, King's Cross, there were upwards of 800 applicants." All this is true, and should lead to a large investment of capital in Industrial Dwellings. It is, however, essential above all things that the management of any Company organised to carry out such designs be committed to practical men, and men of undoubted integrity. The names of those who appear at present as directors of the Company, are so far as we know them a guarantee that the work will be carried forward with a primary view to the welfare of the working classes. How far they vouch for their competency to manage such an undertaking we are unable to say, but from the known position of two or three, the presumption is in their favour.

Clearings.

The first number for the season of the *Owl* is announced to appear on Wednesday next.

The Crown Prince of Prussia is engaged in writing a history of the Electoral Princes of Brandenburg.

The Pope will be seventy-four years old on the 13th of May next.

A melancholy disaster is reported from Great Yarmouth. A small boat capsized in the harbour, and five persons forming the crew were drowned.

Two young Russian women are at present studying medicine at the University of Zurich, and show, it is stated, much aptitude for that profession.

The Empress of the French has lately been out shooting with the Princess Metternich at Marley. Her Majesty, says the *Gazette des Etrangers*, made a bag of seventy-nine birds.

The monument to John Bunyan, at Bedford, is to take the form of a large and handsome school, to be named after the immortal author of "Pilgrim's Progress." The cost is estimated at nearly 3,000*l.*

On Wednesday morning, Robert Gillespie, carter, Gorbals, Glasgow, drank a wineglassful of the oil of bitter almonds, instead of the same quantity of whisky. Death was almost instantaneous.

Retaining a reserve fund to meet outstanding liabilities of 4,000*l.*, the Committee of the late Dublin Exhibition state their net profits to amount to 10,000*l.*

The experiences of the amateur casual of the *Pall Mall Gazette* have been dramatised at the Marylebone Theatre, and "Daddy" appears as one of the characters.

The roll of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, printed as usual at the commencement of the Parliamentary Session, concludes with the names of Lord Romilly and Lord Northbrook. The total number is 454.

At Bristol a bride, just on the point of leaving that city for London to be married, was arrested on the charge of theft. When brought before the Court she pleaded "Guilty," and was sentenced to two months' imprisonment.

Mr. James Greenwood, the Lambeth Amateur "Casual," is about to contribute a series of descriptive sketches, the result of his own observations and experiences, for publication in the "Readings by Starlight" of the *Evening Star*.

Dean Ramsay, of Edinburgh, has been lecturing on "Preaching and Preachers." He introduced a curious calculation as to the number of sermons delivered from the pulpits of Great Britain. The result is 75,040 sermons each Sabbath-day, or 3,902,080 in the year.

At the *bal costumé* which took place at the Tuileries on Thursday, the great success of the evening was a

quadrille in which the gentlemen were dressed as leopards, and the ladies as gazelles. The spots on the "leopards" were composed of precious stones. At the Tuileries fancy ball, Count de Niewerke wore the costume of Pontius Pilate!

On a recent trip of one of the Illinois river packets—a light-draft one, as there were only two feet of water in the Channel—the passengers were startled by the cry of a man overboard! The steamer was stopped, and preparations were made to save the man, when he cried, "Go ahead with your darned steambot, I'll walk behind."

Money Market and Commercial Intelligence.

City, Tuesday Evening.

Up till Saturday last the tone of the stock markets had been decidedly improved, but it was reversed by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland and other rumours of a disheartening character. After some alternations the closing prices of Consols to-day were 87½ to 88 for money, and 87½ to 88 for account.

There is a general expectation of a reduction in the rate of discount on Thursday next.

American Securities have been unusually good, showing an average advance of ¼. Railway and Bank Shares have also been steady.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Friday's Gazette.)

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 82, for the week ending Wednesday, Feb. 14.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued .. £27,050,185	Government Debt .. £11,015,100
	Other Securities .. 3,634,900
	Gold Coin & Bullion 12,400,185
£27,050,185	£27,050,185

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietors' Capital £14,553,000	Government Securities .. £9,865,483
Reserve .. 3,568,952	Other Securities .. 18,583,393
Public Deposits .. 4,930,582	Notes .. 6,386,945
Other Deposits .. 12,176,119	Gold & Silver Coin 895,929
Seven Day and other .. 403,207	
Bills .. 403,207	
£485,631,750	£485,631,750

Feb. 15, 1866.

W. MILLER, Chief Cashier.

HOLLOWAY'S PILLS—The Ready Remedy.—When winter sets in, the human constitution undergoes many trials, from some of which disease will spring, unless the blood repelled from the surface of the body find organs capable of receiving it, and sometimes adapted to consume it. This preservative power is admirably displayed by proper doses of Holloway's Pills, which relieve the liver, kidneys, and blood, from undue congestion by immediately augmenting their secretion, and so diverting any surplus quantity of blood from a situation where its continued presence must be mischievous. With these Pills and an attentive perusal of their accompanying "directions," neither great judgment nor much experience is required to conduct even the delicate through the trying time of winter.

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

BIRTHS.

JACKSON.—February 4, the wife of Thomas Ashby Jackson, Esq., Valinger-road, King's Lynn, of a son.

ELLINGTON.—February 18, at Walton-on-Thames, the wife of H. L. Ellington, Esq., junior, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

COX—PORTER.—December 21, 1865, at the London Mission Chapel, Cuddapah, Madras Presidency, by the Rev. E. Porter, assisted by the Rev. R. Johnston, J. H. M. Cox, Esq., son of the late Major E. T. Cox, Madras Army, to Harriette Judson, daughter of the Rev. E. Porter, L.W.S.

MURRAY—MEALEY.—November 7, 1865, at Sydney, by the Rev. Dr. Fullerton, William Archibald, only son of the Rev. A. W. Murray, Missionary of the Navigator Islands, to Edith Sophia, eldest daughter of Mr. G. B. Mealey, of London.

CLIBBETT—WEBB.—February 10, at Lavington Chapel, Bideford, by the Rev. A. G. Moorman, Independent minister of Appledore, Mr. William Clibbett, of Appledore, to Mrs. Webb, of Northam.

MARSHALL—FARRAR.—February 10, at Salem Chapel, Bradford, by the Rev. Josiah Andrews, Mr. Joshua Marshall, to Miss Nancy Farrar, both of Bradford.

RADCLIFFE—ROBINSON.—February 10, at the Ryecliffe Independent Chapel, Ashton-under-Lyne, by the Rev. A. Cran, M.A., of Droyloden, Joshua, eldest son of John Radcliffe, of Droyloden, to Sarah Jane, third daughter of James Robinson, of Gorton.

SENIOR—AINLEY.—February 12, at Zion Chapel, Wakefield, by the Rev. H. Sanders, Mr. John Mann Senior, Wakefield, to Miss Eliza Ainsley, of Newton.

MICKLETHWAITE—CARTER.—February 13, at the Independent chapel, Birstal, near Leeds, by the Rev. E. H. Davies, Mr. G. D. Micklethwaite, to Miss Elizabeth Carter, both of that town.

EINERSEN—WEBSTER.—February 13, at the Congregational church, Chorlton-road, Manchester, by the Rev. T. Windsor, brother-in-law of the bride, Mr. J. P. Einerson, to Sarah, fourth daughter of Mr. W. Webster, Peel-terrace, Old Trafford.

JENNINGS—SELLICK.—February 13, at Bridge-street Chapel, Bristol, by the Rev. H. I. Roper, Mr. T. H. Jennings, of Brunswick-place, Hotwells, to Louisa Ann, second daughter of Mr. J. Sellick, of Old Park-hill, St. Michael's.

COLBORNE—KEPPING.—February 13, at the Congregational chapel, Ropley, Mr. Samuel Colborne, of Ringwood, to Jane Ann, only daughter of Mr. John Kepping, of Kingston.

GARSTANG—WARDLEY.—February 14, at the Baptist chapel, Over Darwen, by the Rev. Professor Harley, F.R.S., and the Rev. Charles Stovel, Walter Garstang, Esq., M.D., &c., &c., Blackburn, to Matilda Mary, second daughter of James Wardley, Esq., Vale Mount, Over Darwen. No cards.

RUSSELL—ROBERTS.—February 15, at Westminster Congregational Chapel, by the Rev. S. Martin, Thomas Russell, Esq., ironfounder, Glasgow, to Marie Bonwick, eldest daughter of E. Roberts, Esq., B.E.D. War Office.

BROWN—BLISHOP.—February 15, at Westminster Chapel, by the Rev. Samuel Martin, Mr. F. W. Brown, of Lamb's Conduit-street, to Sarah, eldest daughter of Mr. T. Bishop, Henton, Martock, Somerset.

HOPE-KING.—February 17, at South Parade Chapel, Halifax, by the Rev. J. A. McDonald, Mr. William Hope, to Catherine, eldest daughter of the late Mr. James King, of Halifax.

DEATHS.

SCOTT.—August 23, 1865, at the Mission Station, Pagapago, Tutuila, South Seas, of low fever, brought on by nursing her husband through an alarming illness, Lilla, the beloved wife of the Rev. G. F. Scott, B.A., of the London Missionary Society, aged twenty-five years.

SMITHURST.—February 4, at Birmingham, of congestion of the brain, Mr. William Smithurst, Student of Spring-hill College.

ASH.—February 11, at 8, Royal Promenade, Victoria-square, Clifton, Richard Ash, Esq., J.P., in his eighty-sixth year.

MARCH.—February 14, Alfred Lennox, the infant son of the Rev. S. March, Erith, Kent, aged eight months.

LOGAN.—February 17, at 18, Abbotsford-place, Glasgow, Euphemia Robertson, wife of the late Mr. Andrew Logan, Hamilton, in her eighty-fourth year, mother of Mr. William Logan.

Markets.

CORN EXCHANGE, LONDON, Monday, Feb. 19.

The supply of wheat from Essex and Kent this morning was small. Samples in tolerably good condition are saleable on fully former terms, while ill-conditioned parcels sell slowly at low and irregular prices. The trade remains steady for foreign wheat at the prices of this day's night, with a slightly improved inquiry. The supply of malting barley was small, and higher prices were demanded, which, however, checked sales. Grinding descriptions without alteration in value. Beans and peas dull. There was a small arrival of foreign oats for the past week; but a few vessels got in this morning from Dutch and Swedish ports. Our dealers, in expectation of large supplies, are cautious buyers; and there has been a moderate supply to-day, at about the currency of last Monday.

CURRENT PRICES.

	Per Qr.		Per Qr.
WHEAT —		PEAS —	
Essex and Kent,		Grey	34 to 36
red, old	48 to 51	Maple	35 38
Ditto new	38 45	White	37 40
White, old	50 56	Boilers	38 40
" new	40 51	Foreign, white ..	34 40
Foreign red	43 48		
" white	48 58	RYE	26 28
BARLEY —		OATS —	
English malting ..	31 35	English feed .. .	20 25
Chevalier	36 38	" potatoes .. .	25 30
Distilling	27 31	Scotch feed .. .	22 26
Foreign	20 27	" potatoes .. .	25 30
MALT —		Irish black .. .	19 24
Pale	54 67	" white	20 25
Chevalier	64 68	Foreign feed .. .	31 25
Brown	48 53		
BEANS —		FLOUR —	
Ticks	36 40	Town made .. .	43 46
Harrow	40 43	Country Marks ..	34 37
Small	42 47	Norfolk & Suffolk	32 34
Egyptian	36 40		

BREAD.—LONDON, Monday, Feb. 19. — The prices of wheaten bread in the metropolis are from 7½d. to 8d.; household ditto, 6½d. to 7d.

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET.

MONDAY, Feb. 19.—The total imports of foreign stock into London, last week, amounted to 7,606 head. In the corresponding week in 1865 we received 4,507; in 1864, 2,865; in 1863, 2,839; in 1862, 1,282; in 1861, 3,059; and in 1860, 1,921 head. For the time of year our market to-day was well supplied with foreign stock. The demand both for beasts and sheep was steady, and prices ruled firm. Calves sold at high quotations. The arrivals of beasts fresh up from our own grazing districts were moderately extensive, and the quality of the stock was good. The receipts from Scotland were to a full average extent, and in prime condition. Owing to the more favourable weather the beef trade was decidedly more active than on Monday last, but enhanced prices were with difficulty obtained. However, the quotations were 2d. per 8lbs. higher than on this day week, the prime Scots and crosses sold at from 4s. 10d. to 5s. per 8lbs. From Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire, we received 1,900 Scots, crosses, and shorthorns; from other parts of England, 1,000 various breeds; from Scotland, 800 Scots and crosses; and from Ireland 200 oxen and heifers. The supply of English sheep in the pens was but moderate; most breeds, however, came to hand in good condition. The mutton trade was firm, and in most instances an advance, as compared with Monday last, of 2d. per 8lbs. took place in prices. Prime Downs and half-breeds in the wool sold at from 6s. 8d. to 6s. 10d. per 8lbs., and prime Downs out of the wool at quite 5s. 4d. per 8lbs. There were a few lambs on offer, and they changed hands at fully last week's prices, viz., 8s. per 8lbs. Calves were in short supply, and the quotations ruled high, the top price being 6s. 8d. per 8lbs. There was a fair demand for pigs, at fully late rates.

Per 8lbs. to sink the Offal.

	s. d. s. d.		s. d. s. d.
Inf. coarse beasts	3 6 to 3 10	Prime Southdown	6 6 to 6 10
Second quality	4 0 4 4	Lambs	5 8 6 2
Prime large oxen	4 6 4 8	Leg. coarse calves	5 8 6 2
Prime Scots, &c.	4 10 5 0	Prime small	6 4 6 8
Coarse inf. sheep	4 2 4 8	Large hogs	4 0 4 8
Second quality	5 0 5 8	Neatsm. porkers	4 10 5 2
Pr. coarse woolled	5 10 6 4		

Suckling calves, 19s. to 21s.; and quarter-old store pigs, 23s. to 33s. each.

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL, Monday, Feb. 19.

These markets are well supplied with town and country-killed meat. For most qualities there is a fair demand, and prices rule tolerably firm, at the annexed quotations.

Per 8lbs. by the carcase.

	s. d. s. d.		s. d. s. d.
Inferior beef	2 10 to 3 2	Small pork	4 6 to 5 0
Middling ditto	3 4 3 10	Inf. mutton	3 8 4 0
Prime large do.	4 0 4 2	Middling ditto	4 2 4 8
Do. small do.	4 4 4 6	Prime ditto	4 10 5 2
Large pork	3 10 4 4	Veal	4 6 5 0

COVENT GARDEN MARKET.—LONDON, Saturday, Feb. 17.

Supplies are still well kept up, and since our last report, business has somewhat improved. A marked increase has taken place this week in importations of foreign produce. Dessert pears now in use consist of Beurre Rance, No plus Meuris, and Easter Beurre. The most desirable apples are Nonpareil, Fearn's Pippin, and Blenheim Orange. Hothouse grapes comprise Barbarossa, Lady Downes' seedling, Trebania, and a few Muscats. Prices of English forced vegetables, such as asparagus, French beans, and frame potatoes, have not altered since our last report. Flowers chiefly consist of poinsettia pulcherrima, orchids, heaths, Chinese primulas, camellias, and roses.

PROVISIONS, Monday, Feb. 19.—The arrivals last week from Ireland were 473 Arkins butter and 3,287 bales bacon, and from foreign ports 13,937 casks, &c., butter, and 1,514 bales bacon. The transactions in Irish butter are still very limited. Foreign met a good sale, at an advance of 2s. to 4s. per cwt. on the best descriptions. Best Dutch, 14s. The

bacon market ruled steady. Sales of best Waterford were made at 64s. on board.

POTATOES.—BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS, Monday, Feb. 19.—The supplies of potatoes on sale at these markets are large. Most descriptions are in very slow request, at barely late rates. The arrivals are almost entirely confined to home grown produce. Yorkshire Regents, 60s. to 95s.; Flukes, 70s. to 100s.; Rocks, 45s. to 60s.; Scotch Regents, 40s. to 90s.; Rocks, 40s. to 50s.; Kent and Essex Regents, 50s. to 90s. per ton.

BOROUGH HOP MARKET, Monday, Feb. 19.—Our market during the past week shows signs of improvement, but the demand experienced is still confined to the execution of small consumptive orders. Prices of all fair and average samples continue very firm. American hops have been in better request, a few parcels of olds having changed hands; and it is expected that this little activity (which has sprung up since our last report) will have the effect of attracting attention before long to American hops of 1863 and 1864 growth. Mid and East Kents, 100s., 147s., 190s.; Farnhams and Country, 100s., 126s., 190s.; Weald of Kents, 80s., 115s., 130s.; Sussex, 70s., 100s., 112s.; Yearlings, 95s., 120s., 135s.; Bavarians, 140s., 100s., 1-0s.

SEED, Monday, Feb. 19.—The seed market has been quiet during the past week, at the reduced value. Red clover seed, with few arrivals from the Continent, is held steadily, and earlier to-day there was more inquiry, and with improvement in the weather, rather more business passing. White seed is in small demand, as also are trefoils, without change in value. Spring tares were more inquired for, at full rates.

WOOL, Monday, Feb. 19.—Since our last report there has been no change in the value of any home-grown wool. The market, however, as regards the demand, is in a sluggish state. The inquiry for export on the Continent is still very limited. The supply on offer is very moderate, and the stocks in the hands of buyers are trifling.

TALLOW.—LONDON, Monday, Feb. 19.—The tallow trade is firm to-day, and F.Y.O. is quoted at 47s. 9d. per cwt. on the spot. Town tallow is selling at 46s. per cwt. net cash. Rough fat 2s. 4½d. per 8lbs.

OIL, Monday, Feb. 19.—Lined oil is firmer, at 39s. 3d. per cwt. on the spot. For sperm there is a steady demand, at 120s. per tun. For all other oils the market is quiet. For turpentine the market is quiet, at 44s. 6d. for French spirits. American refined petroleum 2s. 4d. per gallon.

COALS, Monday, Feb. 19.—An advance on last day's rates. Hettons, 18s.; Haswell, 18s.; East Hartlepool, 17s.; Kelsco, 16s. 9d.; Turnstall, 16s. 8d.; Hartley's, 16s. 3d.; Tanfield, 15s.; Wharfedale, 16s.; Gosforth, 16s. Fresh ships, 14s. left, 9; total, 157. At sea, 20.

Advertisements.

A NONCONFORMIST ARTICLE appears every week in the BRITISH STANDARD, by Dr. PARKER, of Manchester. These Articles discuss principally the Theological Aspects of Nonconformity.

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OINTMENT.—This invaluable Preparation, the wonderful properties of which have now for some time been well appreciated by a discerning public, is proved in a thousand instances to have alleviated the diseases and troubles of infancy and childhood. Chafings, rawness, boils, sores, and skin eruptions of every description, scald head, ring-worm, chilblains, cuts and bruises, croup and wheezing at the chest, have all in their turn yielded to its judicious and persistent application. Nor is it less efficacious in removing those distressing ailments which weary and dispirit persons of maturer years, whilst its healing, soothing, and palliative qualities recommend it, beyond all question, as the great panacea for those obstinate and irritating maladies so frequently attendant on an advanced period of life. Numerous well authenticated instances can be adduced of rapid cures, and permanent relief in severe cases of rheumatism, sprains, white swelling, solaria, gout, boils, ulcers, bad breasts, whitlow, elephantiasis, sore throat, diptheria, &c.; rheumatism in the feet, in the hands, chapped and cracked lips, swelling in the throat or chest, scurvy, kinks, bruises, piles, flatula, &c. No person, whatever his or her station in life, should be without this Family Ointment, indispensable alike to the traveller, the sportsman, and the householder, to whom its virtues will prove a source of comfort and economy.

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